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Washington washout

Democrats quit on the Fair Deal

BY COLLAPSE, compromise and default the Truman Administration's "Fair Deal" last week had almost reached the point of complete obliteration.

- Only the astute floor tactics of Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N. Y.) saved the Administration's face on its heavily-compromised labor bill and prevented passage of the substitute Wood bill, even more deadly to U. S. labor than the present Taft-Hartley law (see p. 5). Marcantonio's own bill, calling for outright T-H repeal and full re-enactment of the Wagner Act, has been ignored by both labor and the Administration.

- In place of continued rent control, the Truman Housing Expediter Tighe Woods last week invited virtually every U. S. landlord to help himself to a rent increase.

- The civil rights program, surrendered without a struggle before the threat of filibuster two months ago, received a post-mortem slap on Tuesday. The Democratic Senate, by a vote of 65 to 16, knocked out a Republican amendment which would have barred segregation in administration of Federal Aid to Education.

- Public health legislation is not conceded a chance for consideration before 1950.

- The housing debate now is over a bill to build 810,000 housing units in six years; the nation's need, expressed in the shelved Marcantonio-Progressive Party housing bill, is for at least 4,000,000 units in the next eight years.

- The promised fight against inflation has now become a program to save business from "dis-inflation."

- Promised improvements of the Wage-Hour law, including benefits for millions of workers not now covered, were abandoned last week. The 75-cent hourly minimum wage also goes a-glimmering in this surrender (labor had sought $1, a demand recognized only by the 1948 Progressive Party program).

FOR those in labor-liberal circles who cared or dared to look, Marcantonio's one-man rescue of the Administration's labor bill last week provided significant insight into the real impetus behind the "Fair Deal" program.

"Let labor learn the lesson of this debate," Marcantonio commented.

"That lesson is to make a militant fight for outright repeal of the Taft-Hartley law without any concessions.

"The Progressive Party is the only one of the three parties in Congress which stood fast, in an uncompromising position, against deals and Taft-Hartley amendments. The Progressive Party stood for outright repeal and it is proud of its position. Let the workers compare the Democratic record with this. The Democratic record is one of surrender and double-dealing.

"Let labor be on guard against further surrender.

"If the Democrats start with anything less than an outright Taft-Hartley repeal bill, it is a warning that a Democratic surrender is under way again and that the Democrats don't want Taft-Hartley repealed."

MARCANTONIO's statement last week recalls his post-election statement in the GUARDIAN of Dec. 6:

"We are going to demand that the New Deal promises of the Administration be fulfilled. As we forced the Administration to talk progress, we are going to force them to legislate progress.

"So long as the Marshall Plan-Truman Doctrine exists, there can be no effective civil liberties, no price control, no low-cost housing. There can be no peace. The only things the American people will get out of the Marshall Plan are higher prices, fewer houses and more cold war."

LAST week the "Fair Deal" program—a shambles except for its Marshall Plan and cold war appropriations—silhouetted Vito Marcantonio not only as the best prophet in Congress, but also as its staunchest proponent of a real Fair Deal for the American wage earner and consumer.

—THE EDITORS

REP. VITO MARCANTONIO
He was the real Fair Dealer

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The last days of Shanghai P.9

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ALSO: Jennings Perry Ella Winter, Max Werner and Archibald Johnstone

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THE MAILBAG

Blasphemy

ST. LOUIS, MO.

Re the book **God's Underground,** I notice that Chrysostom Tarasevitch, O.S.B., writing in the **Catholic Worker,** says: "It made on me a very painful impression. . . . Would the Russian people attending, in ever greater crowds, the Orthodox churches in Moscow, Leningrad and other cities and places throughout the land . . . concur with us in the opinion that their Church is the stooge of Communism? How unjust, how cruel, how un-Christian we are in their regard! Yea, blasphemously so!"

Tarasevitch goes on to recall how, when the Moscow Patriarch sent Metropolitan Grigory here in 1947 to try to reconcile the U. S. Orthodox Church with the U. S. S. R. Patriarchal Church, "some of us tried to undermine his authority by declaring that he . . . taught atheism in the Soviet Union." Grigory, "truly a man of God" according to this Catholic writer, dropped all ideas of Church unity in face of this "outrageous injustice."

Paul Clellan

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Fascism in Action

MARTINS FERRY, OHIO

The 80th Congress authorized the printing of a documented study and analysis of fascism in Europe. The study, **Fascism in Action,** sold 39,790 copies at 40 cents each. I can account for that glaring discrimination only by assuming that its sponsors didn't want Americans, who didn't happen to have 40 cents, to read it.

Now, thanks to the persistent efforts of Rep. Wright Patman (D-Tex.), **Fascism in Action** is again available for **free** distribution. It can be obtained by writing your Congressman—which every reader of GUARDIAN is emphatically urged to do.

George F. Curry

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More on sports

BALTIMORE, MD.

Would like to see regular sports section in the GUARDIAN, especially about the doings in labor and progressive sports. Here in Baltimore we had the Easterwood Progressive A.C. sponsored by a local Progressive Party club win the Maryland All-American A.A. basketball championship.

Philip Boyer

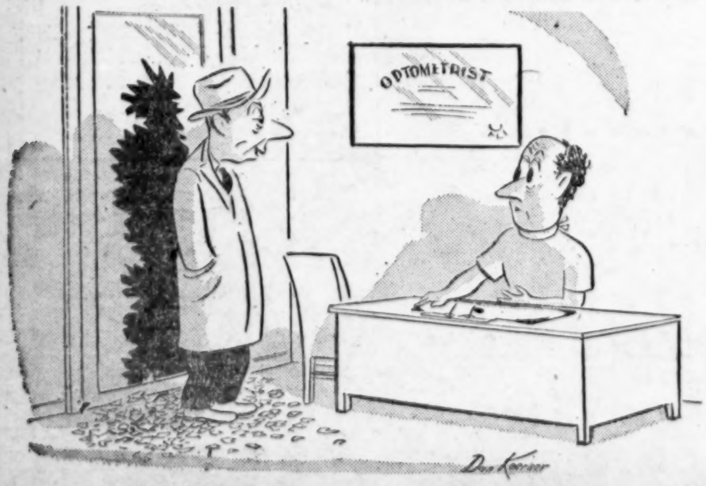
Fresh air

William S. Gailmor and Johannes Steel, liberal radio commentators excluded from previous New York and network radio jobs, have teamed up for five broadcasts a week on WLIB, 1190 kc., N.Y., sponsored by Steel's monthly publication, **Report on World Affairs.**

Gailmor can be heard Mondays and Wednesdays, Steel Tuesdays and Thursdays, all at 7 p.m. Gailmor will continue his Sunday 4 p.m. broadcasts, also under Steel's sponsorship on WLIB.

In addition, Gailmor has begun a weekly news commentary, WLIB 6:45 p.m. Wednesdays, sponsored by CIO Teachers Union.

Steel may also be heard at 10:45 p.m. on WVNJ (620) Newark.



"I'd like to have my eyes examined."

Curtain raiser

PRAGUE, CSR

The second issue of the GUARDIAN arrived this morning. It is such a delight to get your paper each week and read the progressives' report on national and international events.

Elwyn Ambrose

•

Japan Diary

SEATTLE, WASH.

I have just finished Mark Gayn's **Japan Diary** (Wm. Sloane). As I read I became more and more convinced that the progressive press should be pushing this book hard as they can.

It is a brilliant factual book, dealing with American policy in Japan—the so-called purges of war criminals, corruption of our occupying forces—and the growing terrorism of the right which is halting labor and farm unions with assassination and the use of American MP's.

I believe a small box in the GUARDIAN should be devoted to recommended reading on various topics—Asia, our own farm problem, etc. Not necessarily new books either. We certainly aren't getting such information anywhere else.

Mrs. Mary Salvus

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Perry's pole

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I salute the NATIONAL GUARDIAN as I do that other national guardian, Uncle Sam. Your discovery of Perry is on a par with Peary's discovery of the Pole.

Henry Goldstein

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Robeson's heart

HAMPTON, IOWA

There are many of us thoroughly disgusted with the reception Paul Robeson has been receiving around the country. With his grand voice and his chance of getting around (if only his "white brothers" will let him) he can become a great worker for peace.

When, oh when, are we going to learn true brotherhood; to learn that it doesn't matter whether a man's skin is black or white, but rather to find out whether there is "black or white" in his heart?

Mrs. R. L. Scantlebury

•

Gannett's goat

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Thanks for the review of William Cary's **Poland Struggles Forward.** The local (Gannett) **Democrat and Chronicle** published a hostile review, filled with scorn at any one who should find anything good to say about a "Russian satellite." Now that I have the exact title I'll try to get the book. Can you state also the title and author of that book about bases and imperialism?

Mrs. Harriet W. Patterson

Mrs. Patterson evidently refers to George Marion's excellent book, "Bases & Empire," Fair Play Publishers, 25 West 44th Street, N. Y. City. $2 paper, $3 cloth. Ed.

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Got the answers

AMHERST, MASS.

Enclosed please find one dollar for a sub to be sent to anyone you like. My compliments. Yours is a fine paper. I especially liked your articles on the Atlantic Pact. Very simple. Very clear. But what dynamite! I don't have time to figure these things out for myself. All I know is I'm against war. But now I know what to say when people tell me that we have to have all these arms, and so forth, because the Russians are aggressive.

Tom Gruelle

Jennings Perry

How firm a foundation

IN Washington we have begun to debate the poll tax again, and this is no negligible thing. It is a wonderful and an awe-inspiring thing. The issue is whether we are to have free elections in the United States of America in the 20th century.

It is a wonderful and an awe-inspiring thing when any people comes to grips with so great a question, but especially when we do. We have been so proud for so long of our government "by the people." We have pointed to our virtue till our finger aches. In all the world we have stood as the land with no anointed rulers, where every citizen can have his voice in public affairs through representatives of his own choosing from President on down.

It may be a litle rough on the rest of the world for us to disclose that this is not true, that at least 10,000,000 Americans regularly are prevented from having any voice in their government whatever. It should be amazing to us, ourselves, after all the impressive lectures on democracy we have given other, less enlightened, peoples.

HEARKEN, LESSER BREEDS. In the middle of the 20th century, we are debating whether we shall have free elections. Not whether the Rumanians should or the Bulgarians should. There is no question about that; we have made that very clear. We are talking about our own course, trying to see our own way. We Americans. It is rather courageous of us. The debate should resound. All should listen.

It will do us good to realize—as we increasingly have come to realize in the past decade—that the issue still remains to be debated among ourselves. It will help keep us from being smug.

We do not want to be smug, of course. We want to do what is right. We want to be honest with ourselves and all the world. That is why we again are facing, in Congress, the miserable fact that we do not have free elections in America, either.

I think this is not a debate we should beam outward into darkness by the Voice of America. We should beam it inward. We can save the souls of the Poles and the Russians some other time. Right now it is the state of our loyalty to the central article of our own political faith that needs exploring. Do we believe in democracy? Do we indeed?

THE FOOTWORN PIN. Plainly it is hard for any mortal to review critically a belief he always has said—and assumed—he holds. It is plain also, however, that many Americans do not actually accept democracy—even political democracy—as a way of life, but stand stubbornly against the establishment of democracy—even political democracy—in this land. Else there would be no occasion for the resumption of this debate in Congress now for the tenth year hand-running.

The whole issue in the poll-tax fight is whether our nation is to be a democracy or some striped animal merely claiming the name. If there were no lack, there would be no issue.

The Constitution **this,** and the Constitution **that:** the boys will be crowding as many angels on the head of that footworn pin as time allows—from now till the filibuster in the Senate begins.

THE BOOT TO THE PANTS. But the Constitution also guarantees a republican form of government to every state of this Union, which at least seven of the states have not had for the past half-century. The guarantee is spelled out.

Since the Constitution has had so small an authority in that direction, it remains, one perceives, for the people themselves to act—if they will and as they may—to end the poll tax.

The people may act by election or by any other means of applying popular demand to the seat of legislative pants. As for our will to do this, that depends upon our faith in and loyalty to the principle of popular rule.

Until we make this demonstration, we ought not to let ourselves off from the harrowing spectacle of an American Congress still having to debate free elections in the 160th year of our nation. It is a scene to discourage the sin of self-righteousness.

ALP Action Conference

REV. CLARENCE DUFFY will head the speakers at the Conference on Peace and Political Action, Saturday, May 14, 10 a.m. to 5:30 p.m., at the Central Opera House, 205 E. 67 St., New York. The Roman Catholic priest will keynote the meeting sponsored by the Nationalities Division of the New York State American Labor Party with a talk on "The World Mobilizes for Peace."

Chaired by Helen Vasquez, legislative director of Local 16, United Office and Professional Workers, and Vincent Longhi, noted labor attorney, the panels will discuss the fight for peace, civil rights, political action, problems of youth and trade unions. They will be presided over individually by people like Arthur Schutzer, executive secretary of the ALP; Olga Tkack, secretary of an I.W.O. Ukrainian lodge; and Abner Green, executive secretary of the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born.

Registration fees are $1 for delegates and 50 cents for observers, and are payable to the Nationalities Division of the ALP, 570 Seventh Av., New York. Tickets may be obtained there for the People's Festival for Peace to be held at the Opera House Sunday, May 15, at 2 p.m. The festival will feature the songs and dances of national groups. Telephone LOngacre 5-1200 for festival reservations.

It's later than you think!

Mundt speeds a new police-state bill

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

WHEN you get a postcard from Attorney General Tom Clark, informing you in cold direct language that you have been registered as a member of a communist front organization, that will be the new Mundt bill in action.

The time is later than you think.

The success of the Justice Dept.-inspired drive for anti-progressive legislation in Maryland and half a dozen other states has emboldened the crew who pushed the Mundt-Nixon police-state bill through the House in the 80th Congress. Now they are driving to get the same legislation, disguised in a "new look" costume of legal verbiage, through both houses in the 81st.

Sen. Karl E. Mundt

THEY LOVE HIM. Members of the Senate judiciary subcommittee, before whom Sen. Karl E. Mundt (R-S.D.) has been telling about the new bill, fall over each other in admiration of the pudgy, arm-waving little man who inspired much of the Un-American Activities Committee's un-Americanism last year. The bill would therefore seem likely to speed through the committee with hearty blessings.

Yet hardly anyone seems to know or care much.

Mundt's second day as star witness was played to a half-empty house on the fourth floor of the Senate office building. The press table for most of the session was all but reporterless. Mundt waxed bold in attacking not only everything he called communist or communist-duped, but the very courts of the land themselves, and the executive department thrown in.

MAN OF SORROWS. He branded as "scandalous" the fact that Alger Hiss has not been tried yet though the Canadians have tried and convicted a man caught later than Hiss.

He said he "read with tears in my eyes" of the decision by a California judge ordering the reinstatement in his movie job of one of the Hollywood Ten.

He joined with Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) in failing to understand what is wrong with the United States because the judge, in the trial of 11 Communist leaders, has not thrown every picket into jail on contempt charges.

At only two points so far was he challenged by anyone in the room. When he proposed that the statute of limitations be dropped entirely in peacetime espionage prosecutions, even Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.), white-haired witch-hunter extraordinary, called him off with a reminder that there still are some civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

When he and the others, including Ferguson, joined in questioning the "leniency" of Judge Medina with regard to picketing at the trial of the 11, one voice alone spoke up against him. Sen. Bert H. Miller (R-Idaho) pointed out: "The Supreme Court has held that picketing is a manner of free speech."

To which Ferguson replied: "But this isn't just picketing. They are carrying signs."

YOUR RIGHTS PRESERVED. The first seven pages of Mundt's bill (S. 1194) are a summary of Un-American Activities Committee "evidence" that all progressive activity is part of a Moscow conspiracy.

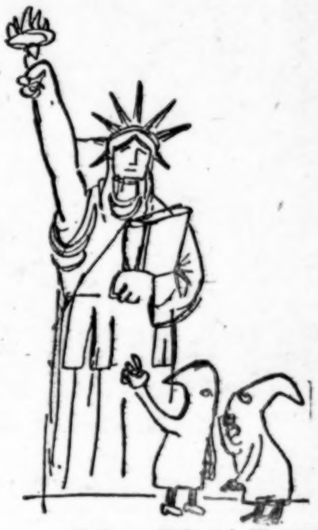
Outlining the bill, Mundt says it can be used against fascists as well as communists.

The bill calls for registration of all communist political organizations and "communist fronts", with names of all members and all income sources. To such groups it denies use of the mails unless their "communism" is designated on envelopes, etc., with stiff jail terms and fines for violations. The bill makes it a crime for members of such organizations to seek a passport.

Yet, says Mundt, it guarantees civil rights and does not outlaw the Communist Party.

WHO SCARED WHOM? In the few minutes allotted to Ferguson, he said his bill (S.1196) and Mundt's are so much alike they can be discussed generally together.

Ferguson, who was routed so completely by Paul Robeson in Senate hearings last year that he fled the Senate hearing room for home, testified this year: "Robeson was frightened when he testified last year."



Trybuna Wolnosci, Warsaw

"I'll bet she's got Negro blood in her veins!"

That was the only laugh in the hearings. With the rasping repetition of the old red-hysteria cliches ringing in your correspondent's ears, he repeats: "It's later than you think."

Cold war on the waterfront

Seamen duped by atom-bomb-happy gang

By Ed Falkowski

CERTAIN shabby taverns and smoke-hung poolrooms of New York have become the hangouts of stranded, bewildered seamen from Poland, who gather to express fatalistic or devil-may-care attitudes toward the fix into which they have got themselves.

In the old days eastern European newcomers used to find themselves the proud possessors of empty pockets and Brooklyn Bridge. These Poles are the victims of a modern version of that ancient wheeze.

They have been sold "America — land of democracy and oportunity" by the Polish Immigration Committee of 25 St. Marks Place — an offshoot of the Polish American Congress, whose president, Charles Rozmarek, has called for immediate atomic war against Russia.

DRIVE FOR DP's. Director of the Committee is Rev. Col Felix Burant of St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic Church, former U.S. army chaplain. Routine work is handled by Wladyslaw Korsak, pre-war vice-minister in Poland's Internal Affairs Ministry under the notorious "Colonels' regime." Mr. Korsak hands out jobs, housing and medical aid to his completely dependent refugee clients. Recently Rev. Burant conferred with the National Catholic Resettlement Council on this aspect of the work.

The Polish American Congress demands the U.S. open its doors to 250,000 Polish DP's, and is raising a $1,000,000 fund to assist them. Huge sums are spent on anti-Soviet propaganda, and the DP's are expected to disseminate it among American Poles still infected with New Dealism.

Jersey City politicians of Polish extraction are interested in importing the DP's to swell their "vote" and improve their eligibility for soft city jobs. In behind-the-scenes Washington, it is reported, there is the hope and aim of bringing in enough DP's to create a Polish division for an eventual anti-Soviet war.

DESERTER "HEROES." Since post-war ocean traffic was resumed, the Polish Gdynia-America Line has reported 250 desertions from its ships. In January 19 crew members quit the SS Batory. In February 61 quit the SS Sobieski, to be hailed as "heroes" by Frank Eggers, nephew of Boss Frank Hague and mayor of Jersey City. New Jersey's Rep. Edward Hart promptly announced he would introduce a bill to admit all Polish ship deserters to the U.S., "if it can be established that they are anti-Communist." Thus for the first time anywhere in history it is proposed to invite mass commission of an act punishable under international law.

Antoni Kowalski

A dim view of Port Chester

An important factor in the large number of desertions from the Sobieski is that the ship is on the New York-Genoa run and never touches Poland. The crew members, denied shore leave here, have often had to stay aboard ship for weeks at a time. Glamorous accounts of what it would mean to settle in America were nevertheless conveyed to them.

GRAVEDIGGERS. Seamen who fell for the lure have experienced a far from happy time. They have found jobs scarce and getting scarcer. Most openings are on Long Island and up-state farms, at rates of pay and conditions that Americans won't accept. Some of the Poles were reported digging graves as scabs for Cardinal Spellman at Calvary Cemetery during the recent gravediggers' strike.

A number of the refugees woke up and found themselves in Venezuela, where they were shipped for resettlement. From there, one of them recently wrote: "The situation of Polish immigrants in Venezuela is terrible. Some have no place to live except the parks, although they work very hard. Venezuelans dislike the immigrants and do not let them have jobs for which they are qualified."

From former seamen and other refugees in the U.S. and Venezuela, a steady stream of letters now comes to Polish officials pleading for aid in repatriation. In the seamens' case a two-month grace period is allowed, within which they will be taken back on their ships. Twenty so far have been reinstated.

POLISH BLUES. On the SS Batory this correspondent recently spoke with former deserters now back in their old jobs. Typical of them was Antoni Kowalski, a tall, blond, handsome man of 25 from a village near Lodz, who tried himself out on a building construction job near Port Chester.

Kowalski told how the Polish Immigration Committee had assisted him. "But after working for a short time it struck me that Americans work too hard for what they get. . . . Their insecurity is far greater than we know in Poland. . . . Besides, I am a Pole. My relatives and friends are in Poland. I belong there with them."

Alexander Kiewlicz jumped ship in 1945 and was arrested in 1947. He was taken to Ellis Island for hearings, of which the following is an excerpt:

Q.—Do you subscribe to the principles of Nazism, Fascism or Communism?

A.—No.

Helen Stapowa

"I prefer Poland"

Q.—Do you believe in the principles of the U.S. Government?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Have you any statement which you wish to make in your own behalf?

A.—No; I wish to be sent back to Poland.

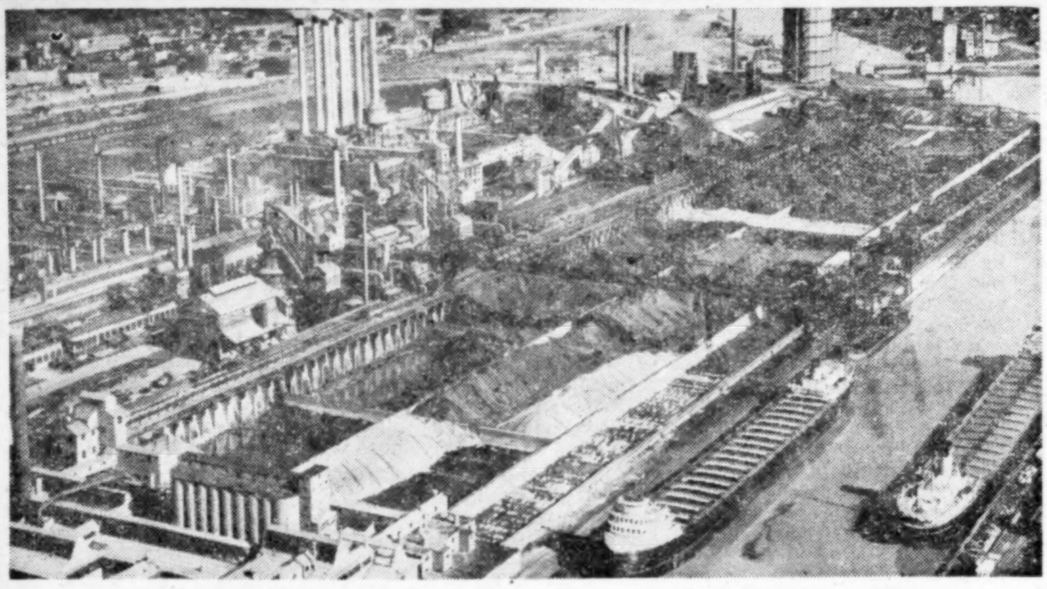
Despite his expressed wish, he claimed he was induced by the Polish Immigration Committee, with the knowledge and cooperation of the U.S. Immigration Service, to go to Venezuela. It took him a year to get back and lay his case before Polish officials.

Babies crying for milk

LAST week the Rev. Carl Schutten, a Catholic priest of New Orleans, visited four sugar cane plantations in Louisiana where 150 DPs have been settled. He came away "deeply shocked" at the "semi-servitude" of the DPs. This is what he found:

The men got $2.90 a day for a nine-hour day—less than $12 a week. The only place they can cash their miserly pay checks is the plantation commissary. Thus they must buy all their things there at prices far higher than those in New Orleans. The babies are "crying for milk and food." The workers find they can never leave the plantation because they never have enough money to pay their debts.

But perhaps even more significant than these frightful facts was another discovery by Rev. Schutten: The native-born Americans who plant, cultivate and harvest the sugar cane are no better off.



An air view of the vast Ford River Rouge plant at Dearborn, Mich.

Revolt at River Rouge

Behind the Ford strike

By Irving Richter

DETROIT

A FEW minutes before 1 p.m. last Thursday, 62,000 workers at Ford's huge River Rouge plant dropped their tools and walked off the job. Union and company negotiators met that morning in a last attempt to head off the strike over union charges of speedup. But the talks failed.

The strike could make idle 135,000 workers in Ford's sprawling empire that includes 33 cities.

What was behind the strike?.

ALL OVER AGAIN. The big question was: is there speed-up in the Ford River Rouge plant?

Last October the executive board of Local 600 said yes. "The most terrible exploitation of Ford workers since the days they organized themselves into a union, due to the breakneck standards of production demanded of them, is once again with us."

John S. Bugas, Ford vice president in charge of industrial relations, a former G-man, called all talk of speed-up an "absolute untruth." To him it was just "bad faith to drum up a strike atmosphere."

But in March the company had announced a 22% increase in production. There was no compensatory increase in employment; in fact, lay-offs continued.

Actually, Bugas was fishing in a muddy stream. The whole strike action, he said, "represents to us a complete lack of coordination between Local 600 and the International UAW" and an "absence of an effective sense of responsibility on the part of Local 600."

RED SPEED-UP. There was lack of coordination; the factional differences that have plagued the UAW since its founding are still being fought. Some three months ago president Walter Reuther let it be known in the union's official organ that the speed-up issue was simply inspired by Communists.

After Local 600 adopted its October resolution against speed-up, Local president Thomas Thompson denied that there was abuse of production standards in the River Rouge plant. Encouraged, management inched the assembly line along a little faster.

Last week nobody could deny that speed-up was back again; all that was necessary was to look at the faces of men plodding out of Gate 4 during the change of shifts.

And last week Local 600 voted 25 to 1 to strike.

NO PATIENCE. The International withheld authorization. Instead, it appointed a committee to go to the River Rouge plant to check assembly line speed. Ford workers said this was silly: the line would be slowed for the committee's inspection, stepped up after it left. While the union committee was in "B" building, union workers staged a protest "strike."

On Tuesday things happened rapidly: Local 600 sent in its own committee, found the speed-up as bad as ever. The local executive board met in emergency session, ordered a strike for Wednesday at 10 a.m. with or without international authorization.

The international executive board met and authorized a walkout, but set the date for Thursday noon.

The local executive met again and agreed to that deadline.

THE BIG ISSUE. How rank and file pressure boiled the issue to a quick head was illustrated by the fact that while a strike date was being hastily set, a formal union request for negotiations on a renewal of the Ford contract went through routine channels to Ford management.

Meanwhile, speed-up is becoming a major issue in auto plants all over the country.

Bureau of Labor Statistics show General Motors productivity at the end of 1948 up 46% since 1946. GM workers in Flint and Pontiac, Linden, N.J., Southgate, Calif., and Cleveland, Ohio have either voted to strike against speed-up or have staged wild-cat strikes.

THEY'RE SWAMPED. Last winter there was a plant-wide strike against speed-up in the Studebaker Corp.

Bendix Aviation workers in South Bend, Ind., struck against speed-up last month.

Emil Mazey, international secretary-treasurer of the UAW who has gone along with President Walter Reuther in discounting the speed-up issue, nevertheless admitted that the international was swamped with speed-up complaints from locals everywhere.

Free enterprise

In full page ads, comics, radio programs, school and church pamphlets, the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers is trying to sell "free enterprise" to Detroit workers as the best means of winning a high standard of living.

The backbone of this campaign, it was revealed by T. S. Repplier, president of the Advertising Council, Inc., is "productivity." Productivity accompanied by layoffs means one thing—speedup.

No auto worker has any illusion about how long his job will last. It is already impossible for a Negro to get into an auto plant; white female workers are being cleared out. And profits continue to mount.

The ranks are solid

DEARBORN (Friday)

IN SHARP contrast to previous Ford strikes (last one was in 1941), not a city cop and not a Ford plant policeman is in sight today as the strike settles down at the largest plant in the world. The strikers have completely taken over the area. Solidarity is complete. The attempt to raise the "red" issue where the real one is so obvious is just a corny joke.

After his great efforts to stop the strike—which were repudiated by his own men—UAW president Reuther may now make even greater ones to get the men back. He has counted on Ford workers to win some minor demands that he wants to make (but can't owing to the contract situation) of General Motors—particularly pensions.

The pension issue is small potatoes to the men now picketing River Rouge. They are out to smash the speed-up. Reuther is going along—he has to.

Wallace peace tour draws huge throngs

HENRY WALLACE, Progressive Party candidate for President, took off last week on a fast coast-to-coast Tour for Peace, with addresses scheduled in 15 major American cities. The tour will wind up with a rally in New York's Madison Square Garden on May 16.

Wallace is accompanied by Senator Michele Giua, leading Italian Socialist who spent eight years in a Mussolini prison, and H. Lester Hutchinson, British Labor Member of Parliament.

Other European legislators who were to have accompanied Wallace (Britain's Konni Zilliacus and France's Pierre Cot) have been denied visas by the State Department.

Purpose of the trip, Wallace said, is "to help find an answer to the most important questions of our time: how can we bridge the dangerously widening gap between East and West?"

By the end of the week the Wallace party had spoken to well-attended rallies in six cities.

CHICAGO. Before an audience of 6,500 in the Coliseum, Wallace declared: "The Russian offer to remove the Berlin blockade opens the road to peace. Now it is up to Truman and Acheson to travel that road."

Failure of Congress to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law was part of the Atlantic Pact program, Wallace said. "The reactionaries know that if the Administration wants an armed Pact and an arms economy, it must demand the right to control labor, the right to interfere with labor's rights."

CLEVELAND. Two thousand attended the Wallace rally. Administration betrayal of the promise to repeal the Taft-Hartley law was one of the costs of the cold war, Wallace said.

DETROIT. A record crowd overflowed the Detroit Music Hall. Sixty-seven union leaders presented a peace scroll to Sen. Giua and Mr. Hutchinson. Four hundred Italian unionists held a reception for Giua. Wallace warned that under the cold war, industrial Detroit "will become a symbol of hate and destruction."

BOSTON. Five thousand crowded Mechanics Hall to hear the Wallace party, joined here by Mrs. Paul Robeson. The singer's wife discussed his European peace tour, said those wanting war would have a "hard time indeed" luring sensible loyal Americans, Negro and white, into a war for foreign fascists.

Mr. Hutchinson, veteran of the Royal Navy, said: "I want to make it perfectly clear that I will not fight in another war to restore fascism."

Civil rights for Negroes have been sold for the Atlantic Pact, Wallace charged. "Connally and Vandenberg told Truman," he said, " 'if you want the Pact, no civil rights.' "

PHILADELPHIA. The Arena was crowded with 6,500 persons. The Soviet Union's proposals on the Berlin situation, Wallace said, exploded the "carefully built myth that Russia is intransigeant, that Russia is aggressive, and that you cannot talk to men who are intransigeant and aggressive. That is the myth used to sell the Atlantic Pact."

The rally gave impetus to an effort to obtain a half million signatures to petitions urging defeat of the Atlantic Pact.

NEWARK. An audience of 2,500 filled the Mosque Theater. Wallace warned that the Atlantic Pact will be followed by a Mediterranean Pact, the first victim of which would be "the new, independent State of Israel."

The rally was preceded by a $25-a-plate dinner at the Essex House.

Other cities in the Wallace itinerary are Washington, Baltimore, Minneapolis, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Denver.

In Philadelphia Henry Wallace waves at the crowd as his guest, Michele Giua, Italian Senator, looks on.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

CONGRESS WEEK

Law of the land

SOME labor leaders and some Administration Democrats were jubilant on Wednesday evening; others were not so sure they had anything to celebrate. Republican Rep. Halleck of Indiana said the GOP had won complete victory. Republican National Committee chairman Hugh D. Scott Jr. said: "Apparently an Administration victory is a formal repudiation of an Administration promise."

On the morning after the Wood "compromise" labor bill was sent back to committee by a vote of 212 to 209 (in effect, killed) the **Wall St. Journal** icily editorialized:

"What they (labor leaders) seem actually to have done (by backing Truman in November) is to maneuver themselves into a corner and then carefully bar all the exits. From the party of which they had expected much, they can get very little. What is likely to happen to them when the party they support is voted out, as some day it will be?"

From the parliamentary shambles of labor legislation one undeniable fact emerged to be featured by the **New York Times**: "The Taft-Hartley Act is still the law of the land."

ANOTHER CHANCE. Yet labor still has a chance to repeal the hated law.

For that chance it can thank ALP Congressman Vito Marcantonio of New York, who seized upon a parliamentary device by which he delayed final action overnight, long enough to switch the few votes that defeated the Wood bill (worse than Taft-Hartley) and left the way open for another fight for outright repeal.

Compromise catchword

But the confusion of a week of involved debate still hung over the House, and compromise was still the catchword of Administration spokesmen. The **New York Herald-Tribune** quoted House Democratic leaders as saying "they were prepared to start from scratch with a compromise measure which undoubtedly would contain many Taft-Hartley features."

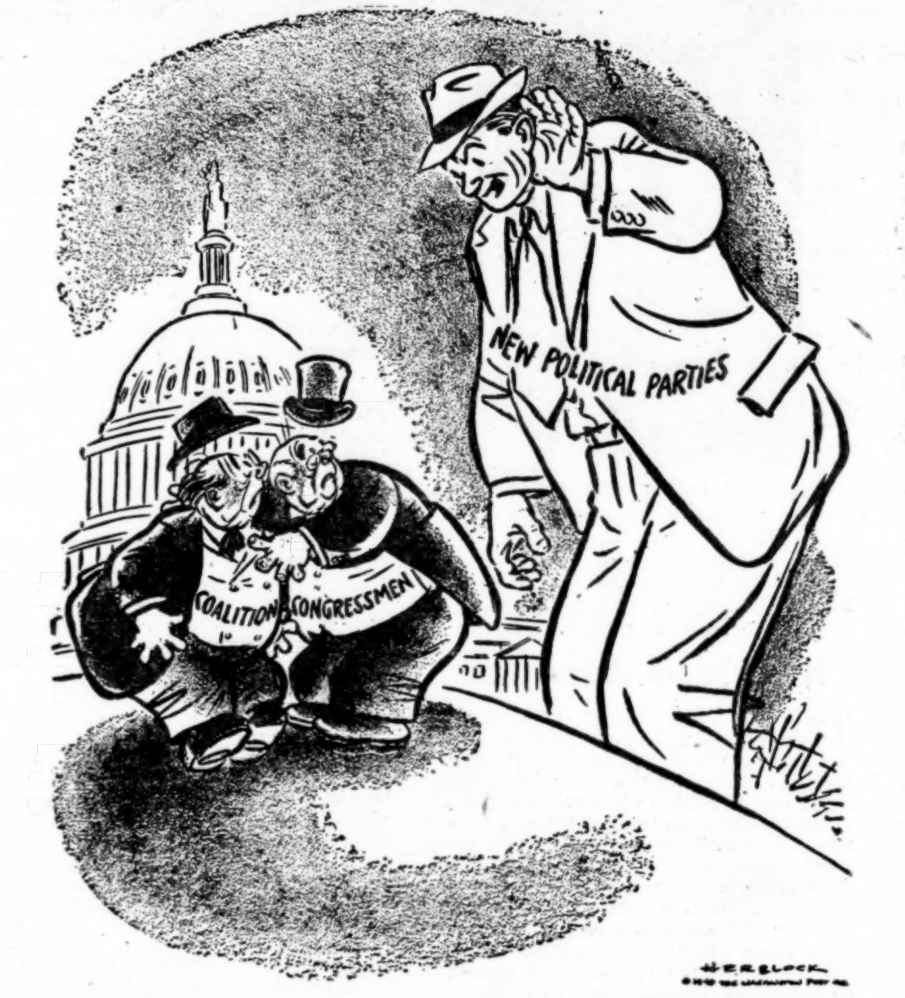
John Lesinski (D-Mich.), chairman of the House Labor Committee, was in a state of indecision. At first he thought the House might sit back now and see what the Senate does. Later he thought his committee might start work on another bill next week, have it on the House floor within a month.

What kind of a bill would it be? A compromise, based on the shortlived Sims bill thrown hastily together in an effort to head off the Wood bill by adopting Wood bill provisions. Said Lesinski: "We can take that as a starting point and come back to the House with a bill that the party can support."

Others had a different word for "compromise." During debate Marcantonio insisted that agreement of Democratic leaders and what he called "titular" labor leaders to Taft-Hartley amendments was "not compromise but abject and nauseous surrender."

IN TWO SENTENCES. At one point Marcantonio cleared the air momentarily. He rose to offer a substitute bill, consisting of two sentences. The first sentence would repeal Taft-Hartley outright. The second would reenact the Wagner Act without change.

To House Democrats he said: "You are running away from the iron-clad commitment the Democratic Party made to the working people of the United States to repeal the Taft-Hartley Law outright." Everything else, he said, was "a surrender and indecent betrayal."



Herblock in Washington Post

"Sounds like you guys were calling for me."

The Marcantonio substitute forced the politicians to rise and vote against their party's campaign promise, 275 to 37.

MARC'S STRATEGY. The Administration's complete rout by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition came when House Speaker Sam Rayburn on May 2 announced the Administration was ready to accept five major Taft-Hartley provisions, including the use of injunctions against strikes.

This submission was taken as a confession of weakness. Dixiecrats, feeling their power, decided they didn't have to be bought off. The compromise bill was rolled down to defeat, 211 to 183. Then they went ahead and voted approval of the Wood bill, 217 to 203.

Dirty Deal Party

Dixie bargain

Final and irrevocable passage was certain until Marcantonio demanded an engrossed copy, which couldn't be provided till next day.

During the night 10 Dixiecrats were prevailed upon to switch their votes. The bait was a pledge from Administration leaders to come up with a compromise bill acceptable to most Dixiecrats. The man who did the bargaining on this deal was Rep. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.).

When the smoke cleared on Thursday, President Truman, his buoyancy undamaged, told newsmen he had scored a famous victory.

TAFT FOR TAFT. In the Senate Robert Taft (R-Ohio) was all ready with another version of the Taft-Hartley Law, only he was offering this one as an amendment to the Administration bill. It contains 28 changes in the present law, but retains 22 of its major provisions—"all its best features," as Taft described them.

Actually, the changes are minor and for the most part follow the general lines of the Wood bill. The Senate is not scheduled to debate labor legislation until some time next month.

Landlords stampede

When Congress adopted a rent control measure, nobody knew what a landlord's "fair net operating income" meant. Last week Federal Housing Expediter Tighe E. Woods explained: it meant a guaranteed profit of 25% to 30%. Landlords not getting that are now entitled to rent increases.

Real estate groups howled that this wasn't enough, but all over the country landlords stood in long lines to receive application blanks. They were in a hurry because rent increases will be retroactive to the day petitions are filed.

Organized tenant groups were furious. They charged the new regulations would blast the ceiling off rent controls. The largest group, the N.Y. Tenants' Council, denounced Woods' ruling as "scandalous," protested that it was adopted in secrecy and demanded public hearings. By the end of the week leaflets had appeared calling upon the President to remove Woods and rescind the order.

Under the new regulations, said tenants' spokesmen, nothing could prevent landlords from padding their operating expenses, making too generous allowances for depreciation, or deciding to "redecorate" in order to bring a year's operating expenses to the point where they could ask and get a boost to a 25% net profit. The rent war seemed to be on.

GOD BLESS OUR HOME

A bill to authorize Federal grants of $300,000,000 to states for public education was passed, 58 to 15, by the Senate. Before new schools are built, more teachers hired, though, the bill must pass the House where many similar measures have been buried. Then each appropriation would have to be approved by Congress.

ATLANTIC PACT

Televised quiz

THE Senate Caucus Room glittered from high-powered television lamps wired into its mammoth chandeliers, as Henry Wallace took the stand. He was the first opposition witness in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the Atlantic Pact.

Seven senators, some 50 photographers, reporters and newsreel men, and about 200 spectators heard the former vice president document his charge that the Pact is a plan of aggression against the Soviet Union, which will bankrupt the American people materially and spiritually.

Wallace's 45-minute prepared statement was followed by questioning so prolonged he was forced to return for another session in the afternoon. In contrast to the hostility to which he is usually subjected by Congressional Committees, the atmosphere in the Caucus Room was relaxed, skeptical, almost indifferent.

AJAR. Sen. Arthur Vandenberg and Tom Connally, committee chairman, challenged Wallace's figures on the cost of the Pact but were forced to admit they had no idea themselves how much it would cost.

Wallace urged that the Senate withhold ratification of the Pact until after the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Paris. He declared that if the U.S. wants a Russian settlement it will have to approach negotiations in good faith, not with "the sword of the Atlantic Pact."

"The door is half way open," he said. "Let's open it all the way."

Wallace's appearance followed a week of testimony by proponents of the Pact. The **Wall St. Journal** said that part of the hearing was proceeding in "an atmosphere of slanted information and withheld facts."

YES AND NO. Does the treaty carry an obligation to arm Europe? Secretaries Acheson and Johnson said: Yes. Gen. Bradley said: No. W. Averell Harriman, ECA roving ambassador, said: Maybe. (The negative answers were given after Vandenberg, who has the job of persuading Republicans to vote for the treaty, complained that the Administration was putting too much emphasis on the arms program.

Will an armed attack on one of the signatories commit the U.S. automatically to war? Yes, said Acheson. No, said former Under Secretary of State Lovett. Gen. Bradley was non-committal.

Will the Pact require stationing of U.S. troops in Europe? Secretary Johnson and Gen. Bradley refused to answer.

Outside the Senate Caucus Room opposition to the Pact was growing. The Commission on World Peace of the Methodist Church last week demanded that the UN be made the keystone of U.S. policy, withheld support of the Pact, and urged an objective appraisal of the merits and defects of communism. The **Wall St. Journal** meanwhile

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announced it would do everything in its power to see that the Senate did not ratify the Pact.

LABOR'S WEEK

Miners: solidarity

AMERICAN ZINC CO. has a mine in Metaline Falls, Washington, and refineries 2,000 miles away in Columbus, Ohio; East St. Louis and Hillsboro, Ill. For 10 months members of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO) have been on strike. The company has refused to negotiate on the grounds that the union's officers have not signed non-communist oaths.

For 10 months American Zinc has faced four united locals. Distance was not enough to divide; the company sought other means. The Columbus local is predominantly Negro; the other three are mostly white. The company attacked the Columbus sector frontally. The other three locals were offered contracts if they would "forget Columbus." The company seemed ready to waive non-communist oaths.

The white locals held solid. Tactics changed. Nine white strike leaders at Metaline Falls were jailed on trumped-up charges of kidnaping—a crime punishable by hanging. In jail they were told that charges would be dropped if they would negotiate without Columbus. They met in the jailhouse and voted unanimously to reject the offer.

STILL ON STRIKE!

THE HEAT. To the other locals the miners sent word that they would stand with them "till the shaft caves in and the smelters rot."

Meanwhile, to the support of the nine now out on bail came stump ranchers, woodworkers from the big timber, small farmers, merchants of northwest Washington, labor and community representatives of the entire Northwest.

The trial of the nine men has been postponed following a march on the county courthouse by local taxpayers, who filed suit protesting appropriation of a special fund to prosecute the men. This suit is now on its way to the State Supreme Court. Last week, the Justice of the Peace was forced to resign his post as secretary of the Metaline Falls Chamber of Commerce by irate Chamber members who disliked his anti-union testimony at the taxpayers' hearing.

Bessemer union war

DOCTORS who performed an eye operation on Maurice Travis, secretary-treasurer of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (CIO), a fortnight ago are still unable to determine whether Travis will be permanently blinded. Travis was brutally beaten in Bessemer, Ala., on the eve of an election among red ore miners between his union and that of the CIO Steel Workers. Charles J. Smith, director of district 38 of the steel union, reported by telegram to three CIO officials on the West Coast: "Travis' injuries consisted solely of one black eye."

What happened, he said, was that a local union official was making a radio speech when Travis interrupted him, "cursed Philip Murray and called David J. McDonald, secretary-treasurer of the Steel Union, a 'scab' and a 'popsicle.' The local union official struck Travis one blow, knocking him down and blackening his eye."

In another studio, he added, local steel union officials were prevented from attacking two Mine Mill officers by Nick Zonarich, Murray's personal representative.

Zonarich, according to Mine Mill, led the assault against Travis.

MAURICE TRAVIS
"Just a black eye"

Mine Mill has charged CIO president Philip Murray with direct responsibility. He has not yet replied.

Ballots vs. knuckles

THE Farm Equipment and Metal Workers (CIO) was gaining last week in its running fight with the United Automobile Workers (CIO). The fight began last fall when CIO's National Board commanded left FE to merge with right UAW. FE, in convention assembled, refused. The issue was fought with brass knuckles and with ballots.

At Allis Chalmers last month UAW won an NLRB election. At the McCormick Plant of International Harvester, FE won. FE went on to win by a squeak at the Oliver Co. plant at South Bend, and again last week by a landslide at Oliver's plant at Charles City, Iowa..

FE reported that at South Bend the company had hired 400 UAW members two months before the election and laid them off two days after it. During the campaign in Charles City workers received letters writen on Communist Party stationery designating FE as the Communist choice. Communist Party spokesmen were quick to deny authorship of the letters and to brand them as forgeries.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Trenton hearing

THE Trenton Six last week passed their 61st week in prison. Their appeal was due to be argued before New Jersey's Supreme Court late this month. And for the first time the U.S. took official notice.

The State Department wrote to attorney O. John Rogge, retained by the Civil Rights Congress to argue the case. The letter explained that someone in India had asked a Department attache for information on the case. The Department, wishing to be helpful, turned to Rogge for a copy of the record.

Rogge, just back from the Paris Conference for Peace, reported that before he took off from Orly Field in Paris, a girl employee of Air France came up to him and asked, "How are you going to make out in Trenton?"

Reds on rails

AT the trial of 11 Communist leaders in New York, prosecution witness Angela Calomiris, an undercover agent for the FBI in the Communist Party since 1942 and a Greenwich Village photographer, underwent four days of cross examination.

Defense attorneys uncovered frequent contradictions in her testimony. She swore that she had never pledged loyalty to the Communist Party, only to be confronted with a letter over her signature in which she protested her party loyalty.

Another FBI informant, Thomas Younglove, followed her to the stand. A St. Louis business man who joined the Communist Party as an FBI agent in 1945, Mr. Younglove revealed that the party's railroad organizer, in urging all party members to get behind "concentration" in the railroad industry, had quoted Lenin as saying: "We could never hope to have a successful revolution without the railroad workers with us."

The FBI seemed to have gone to unnecessary trouble to unearth the fact, more easily available by reading the **Daily Worker**, that railroad workers have never been excluded from Communist Party membership drives.

On our side

T. O. Thackrey, whose refusal to support the Atlantic Pact was followed by his resignation as editor and publisher of the **New York Post Home News**, will launch his own daily newspaper in New York with the first issue due May 16. It will be called the **Compass**, will sell for 10 cents a copy, and will be published in the plant formerly occupied by **PM** and the **Star**. It will be "liberal crusading." Mr. Thackrey, in addition to opposing the Atlantic Pact, is a strong supporter of the State of Israel and backed Henry Wallace in the recent elections. The **Compass** will be New York's only non-Communist daily supporting Wallace.

The Kutcher case

IN 1943 James Kutcher had his leg blown off by a German mortar shell. After his demobilization he went to work as a clerk for the Post Office in Newark at a salary of $50 a week. Kutcher was competent; but he was also an active member of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotzkyite organization, on the proscribed list of the Attorney General.

Along with many other postal workers of widely varying political affiliations, Kutcher was caught up in a Loyalty investigation, and fired last August. Last week the Loyalty Review Board refused to reinstate him. Kutcher prepared to carry his case to the U.S. Supreme Court.

EAST AND WEST

C–L–A–Y

A SQUADRON of jet fighters, in perfect formation, swept over the flat plain of a former German army base near the Czech border, spelling out the name C-L-A-Y in the bright May sunshine. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, who will leave his posts as Commander of the U.S. Army in Europe and Military Governor of Germany May 15, wept at this farewell tribute which concluded a 90-minute parade of American military might in his honor.

From the reviewing stand, the slight 52-year-old general hurried to a press conference where, his soft Southern drawl contrasting sharply with the harsh words, he warned bluntly that imminent agreement with Russia could be only temporary. (As reported in GUARDIAN's UN dispatch last week, Clay admitted he knew nothing about U.S.-Soviet talks that have gone on in New York since Feb. 15). Then, jauntily, he swung aboard his private train to return to his spacious book-lined office in the former Nazi Air Force headquarters in Berlin-Dahlem.

Unused since the start of the Berlin bloc
wald Station in the British sector are p
of traffic when the blocka

TRUSTED THE TRUSTS. The official story, nurtured by the general's skilled press agents, is that Clay has long wanted to be relieved of his duties.

Son of a southern senator and once called the "most civilian-minded general in the U.S. Army," Clay has worked hand-in-glove with U.S. big business. He obligingly put through its entire program for Germany, giving U.S. trusts control of the Ruhr and permitting restoration of the international cartels.

Cartels survive pledges

At Potsdam in 1945 the U.S. pledged to destroy Germany's giant monopolies and cartels.

Not a single German combine has yet been broken up in the U.S. zone.

One after another, frustrated AMG officials in the decartelization branch have resigned in disgust. Last year, 19 AMG officers were branded "disloyal" for revealing they had been ordered to ignore the trust-busting law.

This week, Clay's sabotage of decartelization was officially if reluctantly recognized. Sen. Harvey Kilgore (D-W.Va.) angrily demanded that the Army release the decartelization report of a three-man investigating committee sent to Germany last December by the then Secretary of War Royall. The report, leaked to the press, then finally released, confirmed the wellknown fact that there has been no decartelization in Germany.

Clay denied the charges on the same day he signed an order reviving a prewar device for legalizing cartel practices by formation of "industry groups."

Long odious to the Russians, British and French, the U.S. Military Governor of Germany was leaving office at odds even with Washington.

PEOPLE HOPE. On May 4, as Clay's train rolled toward Berlin in the early dusk, 4,000 miles away, under a bla[illegible] New York sun, representatives of [illegible] Big Four were gathering. In the 23rd-floor offices of the U.S. Delegation to the UN at 2 Park Ave., they were to seek final agreement on the lifting of the Berlin blockades and the convening

blockade, switch rails at the Grune-
ıre put into shape for the reopening
ockade ends May 12.

of a Foreign Ministers' meeting on Germany.

When Jacob Malik, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, arrived at 12:31 p.m., he found Sir Alexander Cadogan and Jean Chauvel, British and French representatives to the UN, waiting in the office of the U.S. Ambassador at Large, Dr. Philip Jessup. At 2:10 p.m. the meeting broke up. One hour later Mr. Malik phoned back to give his consent to May 12 as the date for lifting the Berlin blockade and May 23 as the date for the Foreign Ministers' meeting in Paris.

News of the Russo-American agreement electrified the world. UN corridors at Lake Success "buzzed with excitement." U.S. airlift pilots in Berlin "jumped up and down for joy." Western Berliners happily awaited jobs, fresh potatoes, and electric lights which most of them have done without during the ten-months blockade. Ordinary people around the world hoped for an end to the cold war.

DIPLOMATS DESPAIR. The entire Administration was reported concerned "that the American people might regard this Russian move as a real peace offensive." In Paris, retiring U.S. Ambassador Jefferson Caffery accused Russia of fomenting a "campaign of war hysteria."

U.S. reluctance to negotiate with the Russians on Germany stems from the fact that the Soviet German program, as the conservative columnist Walter Lippmann has frequently pointed out, makes sense to a lot of Germans while the American program does not. The real fear of U.S. cold war strategists, this week-end, appeared to be that the Russians might agree to U.S. proposals and thus leave them without any excuse for pursuing the cold war.

James Reston of the **New York Times** said U.S. diplomats sounded "vaguely wistful for the bad old angry days." To Reston they seemed like Paul Makuhak, the man who lived ten years in Brooklyn broom closet and on being orced into freedom said: "It's no good being out. I'd like to go back where I was."

May Day

MEDIEVAL Englishmen danced around a pole hung with brightly colored ribbons every May 1. To grim Puritans this was an abomination.

In 1886 U.S. workmen hung their poles with brightly colored signs demanding an 8-hour day. But they didn't dance—they marched. In 1889 the First Congress of the Second International, meeting in Paris, made the day a holiday for working men everywhere. To some it remained an abomination, but May 1, 1949, found many more people celebrating than abominating.

IN RED SQUARE. Over Moscow's Red Square jet planes swooped in formation. (In 1920 one lone tank rumbled by.) Troops marched for an hour. Then the people came on.

The Russian poet, Seymon Kirsanov, cabled this dispatch to GUARDIAN:

"The Square blossomed out with names of factories and mills, with factory trade marks, figures and models. There's a gigantic rubber tire floating in air and perched inside is a little girl who seems to be comfortable and contented. There are the workers of the Trekhgornaya Textile Mills with latest samples of spring and summer fabrics.

"Approaching Lenin's Mausoleum, the demonstrators slacken their steps. They all want to see Stalin. Each feels that Stalin sees them. He waves his hand in greeting. The people wave back with branches of jasmine and cherry blossoms. Red balloons slipping out of children's hands soar upwards like May Day presents to blue spring skies. People march with the portraits of Soviet statesmen, but the same honor is accorded rank-and-file workers, writers and poets."

On the platform with Stalin, Kirsanov wrote, were "authors of novels and poems, livestock specialists who have developed new stocks, agronomists who have raised vines that grow in northern climes, bricklayers who build new houses faster than they rise in old Russian fairytales. There is much gold gleaming on their breasts. It is in this country that gold has received worthy and worthwhile application for the first time in the world. It was fashioned into stars for heroes of socialist labor."

DAY OF LIQUIDATION. In Paris the General Confederation of Labor held its traditional march from the Place de la Nation to the Place de la Bastille. In the Bois de Boulogne (Paris' largest park) General Charles de Gaulle organized a "Day of Labor, Youth and Sport." He told his supporters that Communists "must be liquidated at any cost." Over each demonstration hovered a Piper Cub dispatched by the police.

New York: rough count

In New York unionists marched down Eighth Av. A "Loyalty Parade" passed down fashionable Fifth Av., led by the Secretary of Labor, reviewed by the Mayor and Cardinal Spellman. Statistics were hard to come by. Parades began at the same time. The Eighth Av. one took five and a half hours to pass. The one down Fifth Av. took 4 hours. Police said there were 117,000 marching briskly on Fifth; 8,100 on Eighth.

The traditional May Day parade stressed peace in its slogans. The "Loyalty Parade" stressed anti-communism.

MAY
~~ARMY~~
DAY

The next day the Cardinal presided over a Loyalty Day program at the Polo Grounds. The Rt. Rev. Fulton J. Sheen sounded the keynote. Faced with news of the Russian offer to lift the blockade, Rev. Sheen said: "Russian communism is intrinsically evil. We have been on record that it is evil, and we will resist it despite all of its tactics and techniques."

Around the world other millions marched.

Shanghai tea party

ON May Day in Shanghai's Palace Hotel there was a tea dance. Couples on the floor and at tables were swept by garish, gliding spotlights. Into the cocktail lounge walked three Chinese Nationalist soldiers, freshly recruited from the countryside to defend the city. They carried full field equipment, including picks and shovels. They asked for tea. A headwaiter told them that tea was quite expensive and they left to man their stations on the roof.

At the Park Hotel where troops were billeted, three soldiers guarded the dining room (the hotel is famed for its Peking duck) to keep other soldiers from asking for food.

THEY HAVE TIME. Machine guns on the roof tops pointed not toward the gates but at the city's streets where customarily Shanghai's thousands march on May Day. This year demonstrations were banned. And Shanghai's workingmen and women felt they could wait.

By radio to the cocktail lounges, by grapevine to the Chinese in the streets came the news that the seaport and resort town of Hangchow, 120 miles southwest, had fallen to the People's Army and that eight Nationalist armies had been "annihilated en masse."

South and west the People's Armies spread, picking up help from guerrillas in the hills, "destroying" armies by capturing them wholesale.

"POLITICAL RUBBISH." In Canton foreign diplomats looked in vain for a government. There was talk of an Emergency Action Committee but no Nationalist leaders could stay in agreement long enough to form one. President Li Tsung-jen was still "resting" in Kweilin, very reluctant to take any job that would be subservient to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Reports that the Generalissimo had fled from Shanghai to the island of Amoy were indignantly denied. On-the-spot observers said that he had really fled to Formosa, where a large colony of former officials, both military and civil, was gathering.

The right-wing **Central Daily News,** grown bitter, termed these "political rubbish" and warned the Provincial Government of Formosa: "Don't let these people cheat the people of Formosa as they did the people of China proper."

The Washington front

Maj. Gen. Claire L. Chennault (retired) former commander of the Flying Tigers and president of the Civil Air Transport Co., China's air monopoly, had a different word for the refugees on Formosa. Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Chennault asked that $700,000,000 a year be spent to save their government.

While his charming Chinese wife looked on, tough, lantern-jawed Chennault told the Senators that unless they acted at once "the result will be that the powerful industrial potential of a communized Japan will be added to the vast raw material resources and the immense manpower of a communized Asia."

VERY SANITARY. "In another form this is exactly what we fought the last bloody, cruel, costly war in the Pacific to prevent," he said. Then he outlined a strategy: "The halting of the communist advance before it engulfs all of Asia and its containment by establishing and fostering sanitary areas of effective resistance, without trying to reconquer the China already lost."

He also testified before the joint House-and-Senate watchdog committee

(Continued on following page)

United Nations special

Israel one year after: a bouncing baby, but—

ONE year after its birth Israel began to take stock of its relations with the rest of the world. Inside and outside the United Nations, three attitudes exist regarding Israel:

The Arab states and Pakistan are definitely hostile. Armistice has been established between Arab nations and Israel, but peace and cooperation do not exist.

European and many Latin American nations are rather unconcerned. The United States, Australia, Guatemala, Uruguay, Russia and the Slav states supported Israel in various ways from the outset.

The United Kingdom is in a special category, partly hostile, and partly envisaging economic exchanges.

3 MAIN PROBLEMS. Before the General Assembly convened it was no secret that Israel expected easily to obtain the necessary two-thirds majority vote for its admission to UN.

But issues have arisen since the creation of the Israeli state which preoccupy a number of nations, and which were sharply voiced during the Assembly's preliminary debates. Three questions were discussed: (1) the investigation by the Israeli government of the murder of the ex-mediator for Palestine, Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte; (2) the internationalization of Jerusalem (safeguarding the holy places); (3) the fate of 800,000 Palestinian Arab refugees.

The Scandinavian countries, Sweden in particular, said they were dissatisfied with the Israeli Government's investigation of the murder of Bernadotte. Israel did issue a report to the UN on May 3, but Sweden and other nations considered it unsatisfactory. It was also felt that the report had been issued at that late date after criticism had been voiced. Israel had not replied, for instance, to earlier direct queries by the Scandinavian states.

LATE CONCERN. Arab countries supported this position, but were much more concerned with the fate of the refugees, displaced from their own homes, who asked to return there. They could not stand another winter housed as they are, in tents, barracks and hovels with no funds and ridden with disease.

Finally, Latin American countries, with a majority of Catholics, could not remain indifferent about Jerusalem. The Pope, once in October and once on Good Friday, issued encyclicals on the subject, thus mobilizing Christian opinion. One cannot refrain from observing that the concern of the Holy See is a little bit tardy. Before hostilities began in Palestine, and even when they broke out, only France energetically asked for the protection of the holy places. A strong appeal by the Pope at the time might have prevented or halted hostilities. But the Christian world chose to sit on the fence and watch Arabs and Jews fight it out.

EBAN'S STATEMENT. However, this late appeal, and the other questions to be solved or clarified, are not mere "anti-Israeli propaganda."

They are real issues, which developed after the birth of Israel, and which are important whether Israel is admitted to the UN at this session or not. The most vital question for Israel is whether, in the future, peaceful relations with the Arabs can be established. As long as 800,000 Palestinian Arabs live in misery and despair, peaceful relations cannot develop.

Conscious of these outstanding problems, Aubrey Eban, Israeli UN representative, on Thursday declared that Israel would favor an international solution for Jerusalem; and negotiate with the Arabs on the refugee problem through the Palestine Conciliation Commission.

He admitted that the Israeli government had failed—because of the existence of long-time terrorism in Palestine—to prevent the assassination of Count Bernadotte. But, he emphasized, these questions should not have bearing upon Israel's admission to UN.

(Continued from preceding page)

on the Marshall Plan and there he described his "sanitary areas" in greater detail. He said: "There are seven provinces of southern China where they have been burying communists alive or dead for years and will keep on doing it."

The broadsword boys

He had just come back from such a "sanitary province." At Ninghsia before he left for the Washington front, the Moslem Gen. Ma Hung-kwi held a review in his honor. Walter Sullivan of the **New York Times** described it: "One thousand broadswords whirled in the sharp desert sunlight and 1,000 voices shouted: 'Kill!' "

General Ma said then that shortly after V-J Day he had found two communists in his camp and had them buried alive.

WON'T DO ANY GOOD. The General's lobbying seemed futile. Secretary of State Dean Acheson declared that U.S. policy in China was unchanged. That was the closest available thing to a definition.

Throughout eastern Europe, economists and government experts were waiting to trade with the New China. In Prague 300 persons enrolled for courses in Chinese so as to be ready. But in the U.S. the press treated the New China as a catastrophe. **Newsweek's** China man, Compton Pakenham, found the Chinese countryside "infested with dirty peasants." GUARDIAN'S Shanghai correspondent, Peter Townsend, felt no such revulsion (see p. 9).

Japan's 2 emperors

ON MAY DAY 250,000 Japanese, loudly cheering and waving red trade union flags, marched to the palace gates in Tokyo. Two days later a much quieter gathering of 30,000 assembled at the Imperial Plaza to celebrate the second anniversary of the Japanese constitution.

On a platform stood the emperor in cut-away and the empress with high-heeled shoes showing beneath her flowing purple Japanese robe. After 30 minutes of ceremony, the emperor broke his pose of stiff attention and led his subjects in three hearty "banzais."

Premier Shigeru Yoshida spoke briefly and recommended austerity. Allen Raymond of the **New York Herald Tribune** Bureau said the speech "brought a ripple of handclapping from the middle-class listeners who are always polite."

INCREDULOUS. Supreme Allied Commander Gen. Douglas MacArthur, in the name of "calm, well-ordered progress," urged "unrelaxed vigilance against the destructive inroads of concepts incredulous of human wisdom, prejudicial to human dignity and suppressive of individual liberty." A year ago he called Japan "a land of relative calm and purposeful effort in a turbulent and confused surrounding."

Even as he issued his statement 120,000 miners seeking a raise went on a 24-hour "vacation." On Wednesday 254,000 more went on vacation and on Thursday 60,000.

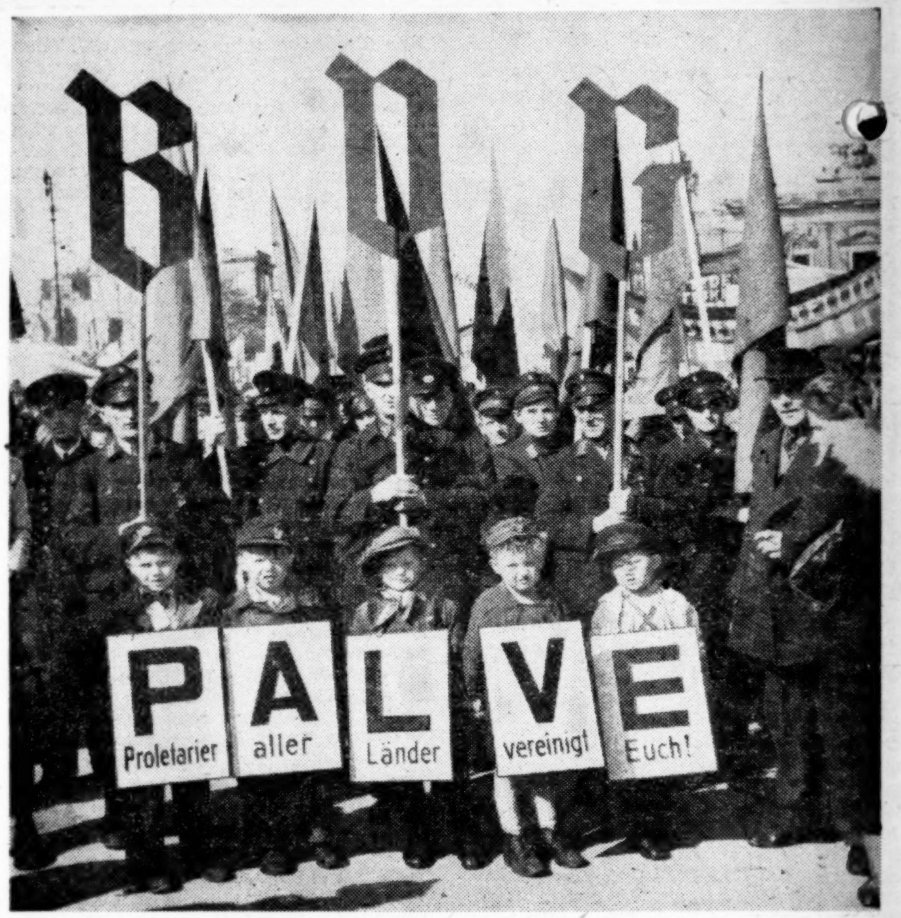
Gen. MacArthur had, in effect, banned strikes in what he called public utility fields. The Diet was busily drafting legislation to embody the Supreme Commander's injunctions.

Two years after

After two years of MacArthur's constitution, organized labor had grown in strength but everywhere seemed stymied by MacArthur's directives, injunctions and austerity decrees.

The cost of living was rising and so was unemployment. Land redistribution was lagging. Taxes continued high. Un-Japanese Activities Committees were at work. The greatest achievement of the Basic Human Rights Protection Bureau had been to assure women rations of saki (rice wine) equal to those of men.

Japan is a string of islands. For food and raw materials, for a market for its factories, it must look to the mainland. Left alone, Japan would quickly come to terms with the new China and probably go left itself. But under U.S. occupation it was to be cut off from the Asiatic mainland and forced to drift, an island without purpose or visible means of support.



May Day in Berlin: Transit workers from the Russian sector hoist their banners during the rally. In the foreground their children hold signs reading: "Workers of all nations unite!"

THE BILL. True, there is another mainland, North America. But there the girls have turned from silk to nylon for their stockings, and toys are becoming a glut. Those were Japan's prime exports before the war.

Now if she is to remain a U.S. colony it will be on the dole. U.S. taxpayers currently dole out $500,000,000 a year for occupation expenses in Japan.

Ambush in Luzon

THE widow of Manuel Quezon, first president of the Philippines, and her eldest daughter were driving down a road in Northern Luzon. In the cavalcade behind them were 50 others. They were on their way to dedicate a marker at the late President's birthplace.

A burst of rifle fire from the roadside caught the widow and her daughter and killed them instantly. Ten others died and ten more were wounded. The cars were ditched and 100 men swarmed about the cavalcade, stripping the bodies of jewelry.

Correspondents wired scare stories blaming the attack on "communist-tinged peasant outlaws known as Huks."

The newsmen referred to the Hukbalahaps, the guerrilla resistance group which took to the hills to fight the Japanese.

PEOPLE'S FRIEND. Last week Luis M. Taruc, leader of the Huks and an elected member of the Philippines Congress, sent this message to two Manila morning newspapers:

"To set the record straight, it must now be announced—which for reasons of security, could not be announced before—that Mrs. Quezon was one of the regular contributors to the Huks.

"Mrs. Quezon also threatened to expose the Quirino (President Elpidio Quirino) administration and the Philippine constabulary for atrocities they committed against her peaceful tenants who were suspected of Huk sympath

"No order, no word was ever issued to our organization that could be construed in any way to bring harm to her or her family."

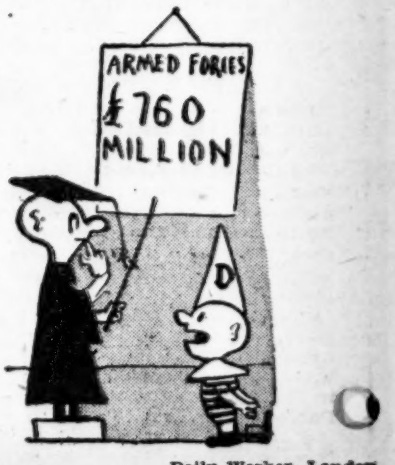
The massacre had made page 1 of the **New York Times.** Taruc's statement made page 43.

Little Washington

IN mid-afternoon on May 1, groups of men and women carrying furled banners walked into Trafalgar Square in London. Police waited. Public demonstrations had been banned, May Day or no. The order was issued after recent enthusiastic outbursts against the meetings of Fascist leader Sir Oswald Mosley and his Union Movement.

As the singing, cheering men and women gathered into groups, satisfying the official definition of a demonstration, police went into action. The fighting was rough but not bloody. Picket staves were broken, banners torn.

In Grosvenor Square, called Little Washington, nine persons chained themselves to the railings of the U.S. Embassy. Later they were unchained, taken to the police station and booked for "insulting behavior."



Daily Worker, London

"Please, teacher, how much does Peace cost?"

Max Werner

Pact of utter confusion: who gives whom what?

THE debate on arms delivery to Western Europe is still moving in a jungle of confusion. Weeks after the signing of the Atlantic Pact nobody knows exactly who is to help whom and with what.

This Tuesday Gen. Omar N. Bradley stood as a witness before the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee. Gen. Bradley is a great soldier and has a clear mind. Yet the topic is so confused that the muddle has been further increased by his testimony.

He said that the U. S. frontiers are now in the heart of Europe, but he did not say who is to hold them. He advocated delivery of arms, but he added: "If we speak of arms **we could never deliver them enough."**

CONFUSION OF TONGUES. A few days ago Secretary Acheson recommended self help and mutual help among West European countries. He said the pact nations would supply six or seven times the amount of $1,130,000,000 in arms from the United States. But Bradley was quite skeptical about the figure, saying he did not know how the State Department came to that conclusion.

Gen. Bradley was right in his skepticism. The total military expenditures of Western Union countries in 1949 amount to $4,500,000,000. Their actual **arms** production is far lower — less than one third of the total military outlay.

In other words, arms production of the Western Allies only equals the U.S. arms delivery — probably even lags behind it.

PAPER POWER. The mutual help of the Western European countries is even more limited than their self-help. Out of the total military budget of $4,500,000,000, Britain has the major share—$3,000,000,000. But Britain does not plan to, and cannot, defend the continental European allies; her $3,000,000,000 will be for defense of the British Isles and nothing else. For the purpose of defense of the European continent (the purpose of the Atlantic Pact as Gen. Bradley said), the British military effort must therefore be deducted.

The remaining $1,500,000,000 military budget of Western Union countries means a trifle of arms production and some five combat divisions.

These countries have no proven military organization, no reserves trained in modern warfare and no experienced officer corps. The required militarization of France and the Low Countries is impossible because they cannot create mass armies. "Arms are not enough," says Gen. Bradley; without combat power they are futile. So who will bear the modern U.S. arms shipped to Europe?

WHO'S CRAZY? The French, the Belgians and the Dutch are deeply convinced that the U.S., and the U.S. alone, can defend them.

General Bradley believes that given time, with economic recovery and rearmament, the Western European countries will be able to defend themselves. But this is not the opinion of the French military and political leaders. As Prime Minister Queuille did, they ask for massive defense by U.S. arms and U.S. troops.

So far this is not our interpretation of the Atlantic Pact. As General Bradley stated clearly and unmistakably, not even an assessment of the number of U.S. divisions needed for defense of Europe has yet been made.

China's awakening

The last days of Shanghai

By Peter Townsend

SHANGHAI

These youngsters picked up chips of coal in the streets of Shanghai and took it back to their sampan on Soochow Creek to cook a meager meal. The creek is swamped with the little sampans inhabited by the miserable thousands who have fled the countryside into the city.

ONCE over the Yangtze river the People's Army drove fast — so fast that foreign newspapermen in Shanghai were reporting the fall of cities three days before it happened, and spent an unhappy night as guests of the garrison commander for "rumor-mongering." (Chinese "rumor-mongers" were treated less gently).

Shanghai awaited the inevitable. The garrison commander had put troops and farmers to work for a month building a ten-foot wooden fence around the city—stretching for miles like a vaudeville joke on the Great Wall, and made of timber pillaged from remaining UNRRA stocks. (Rumor had it that a "certain official" had an interest in a construction company, and had assessed the timber as part of his stock-in-trade).

The common people felt they had no protection—against the Nationalists.

DEATH-RATTLE. They came in rickshaws and on foot into the city, bringing their pigs and household utensils, fleeing from the conscription and forced labor gangs that harrassed the countryside. The people living in the crowded sections of the city tried their best to move into the former Concessions, where wealth and officialdom had secured some protection against billeting and commandeering.

Civilians began to lay in sacks of food and to dispose of Kuomintang currency and replace it with silver dollars. The currency finally broke, the banks could not pay out against checks, payrolls went unmet, and prices began to change almost hourly.

The Nationalists, with no other course to take to salve their weakness, struck viciously. Those who took to their heels when they saw the conscription gangs were shot as they ran. Universities were surrounded at night and those whose names appeared on police Black Lists were taken away in closed police vans. Schools were searched and hundreds of students detained. The arrest of workers was carried out more quietly, but just as effectively.

Soldiers moved into school buildings, and 15 universities were ordered to evacuate. But where? There was nowhere for them to evacuate to, any more than for the peasants who were being turned away from the city's fence and ordered back into the countryside whose terrors they dreaded.

NEW BEGINNING. But something else was happening to the city. Though the Kuomintang currency was worthless, and planes and ships were crowded with the families of the fleeing Nationalist hierarchy, the local stock market was suddenly optimistic.

Word had come from Wusih, liberated only a day after Nanking, that its schools, shops, and factories had reopened and were carrying on as normal. So the business men, who had already given up the idea of flight as too expensive and had long been tired of a regime which brought them trouble instead of profits, cleared their debts, balanced their books, and prepared to start all over again under another government.

The workers, who had made preparations to hold their factories against sabotage and destruction in November, revived their organizations. The students, their movement alive despite the constant repressions, learned the songs and dances of a new regime and distributed underground the news of the New China.

The city was tired of being bled, tired of fear and insecurity. Wherever you went the answer would be the same, whether you asked a coolie, a shopkeeper or a writer: "No, we're not afraid. There's nothing to be afraid of."

LIFTED SHADOW. The city's acceptance of the Communists has been a gradual one, brought on by the economic and political chaos of three years which had made the well-to-do poor and the poor militant. Yet another change was coming over the city—less noticed but no less marked.

For the first time in 100 years, since the guns of HMS Nemesis had silenced the forts at Woosung on the mouth of the river in 1842, no foreign battleships were riding at anchor on Battleship Row.

The city which had arisen on the mud flats of a tributary of the Yangtze, and had exercised an economic stranglehold on the hinterland in the interests of foreign investments, was passing back into the hands of the Chinese.

NO MORE BURDEN. Europeans and Americans were uneasy. Some were packing, others found their stakes too high to leave.

But for all, the history of the past three decades was coming to a head. The rumors of China's awakening, which had troubled their dreams for so long, were no longer rumors but fact. They were being shorn of their privileges, of their control.

To the foreigners, making a dash for a last passage out of Shanghai, or moving into the comparative safety of the city from their estates in the suburbs, it was a matter of restless concern. To the Chinese the issues of revolution were too important to bother about the broken prestige of the foreign communities.

Brusquely, and without so much as a by-your-leave, the white man was being relieved of his burdens. And Shanghai, with almost 50% of the industry south of Manchuria, and its monopoly of the trade of the Yangtze Valley, was returning to China.

Archibald Johnstone's testament

Why I chose to stay in Russia

Last month Archibald R. Johnstone, editor of the British official publication in Moscow, resigned and said he would stay in the Soviet Union. Following are extracts from his letter to "Pravda" explaining his action.

I AM 52 and have been a journalist all my working life. For many of my 35 years in the newspaper world I worked for the London **News Chronicle,** whose liberal attitude to life and affairs gave me the feeling that what I was doing was useful to my country. Now I see that liberalism is no more than an easy escape for intellectuals who, while able to see where justice and truth lie, dodge the issue "What should I do about it?"

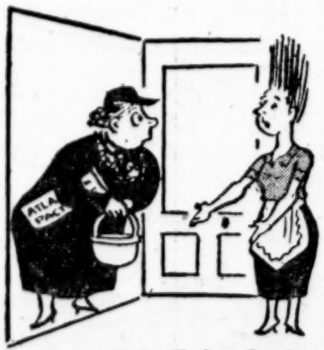
The main stated aim of **British Ally** (published in Moscow in Russian by the British government), of which I have been chief editor since February, 1947, is to foster good relations between the Soviet and British peoples. I know from my own observations how widespread is the feeling of friendship in England for the Soviet Union Anglo-Soviet friendship during the election campaign was one of the main planks in the platform of the Labour Party.

Shortly after I took over the editorship I was told in the British Embassy in Moscow, to my astonishment, that a series of anti-Soviet speeches by Attlee, Bevin and Morrison would have to be published.

IMAGINARY TORRENTS. One instance, typical of many, that shook me particularly, was when Ambassador Sir Maurice Peterson gave specific directions to publish a speech by Attlee in which he referred to "torrents of Soviet abuse of the British people."

I protested to the Ambassador that never at any time had the Soviet press abused the British people. No one in the Embassy, from clerical worker to Ambassador, dared to deny the truth of what I said; nevertheless, Sir Maurice Peterson forced me to publish the speech. The British Embassy in Moscow has no interest in improving relations betwen England and the Soviet Union, and in fact is doing everything to spoil them.

I asked myself: Why then do we publish **British Ally** in Moscow? I got an illuminating answer from Frank Roberts, now Deputy High Commissioner for Britain in India. In 1948 he came to Moscow as the personal representative of Bevin for talks on the Berlin problem. Often in conversation with me he spoke quite sympathetically about the Soviet Union and its leaders. Yet, in spite of everything, it was he who gave specific instructions to paint Marshall, Bevin and Attlee in **British Ally** as "champion of peace" and Soviet leaders as "greedy for world power."



Daily Worker, London

"I was washing my hair as usual on Friday night when I heard Mr. Bevin on his policy!"

NO ROOM FOR TRUTH. Most Foreign Office officials in the departments concerned with policy-forming are anti-Soviet to the point of stupidity, but some of them are not so stupid. Any young cadet in the Embassy in Moscow who can turn in a report of some journey he has made, slanted to show that the Soviet economy is shaky, or that there is dissatisfaction with the regime, knows that he will be marked down as a "bright boy" and singled out for promotion. Any diplomat who hands in a factual report of economic progress and of loyal support of the Soviet regime everywhere is discredited.

About two weeks ago, Dobbs, the press attache in the Embassy, informed me that the general line of the Foreign Office was to start a campaign of "power projection" in **British Ally. British Ally** would be required to print articles and pictures illustrating the military-economic power of England and America in order to terrify the Soviet people and convince them that the Western "democracies" are invincible.

The Embassy staff were not enthusiastic, but it would be naive to imagine that their objections were based on any specific motives. They admit with regret that there is not a chance of throwing a scare into the Soviet people.

THE WAY TO SLAVERY. In the past war the British people suffered bombings; they had to sacrifice young lives The Nazis were approaching, overrunning Europe. It was only the great achievements of the Soviet people, the unforgettable sacrifices of their armies, that saved England from the fate that had struck Belgium and France, Denmark and Norway.

The British people, who escaped at the cost of many sacrifices the status of slaves of Hitler's hordes, now face a fate not a whit less grim and tragic—that of becoming the slaves of American masters.

It was the North Atlantic Pact which gave me the final impetus to make my decision. This Pact is, in effect, a war bloc, headed by America and Britain, directed primarily against the only great power that is fighting for peace. I have never heard of one single Soviet citizen, even in private talk, advocating war or proclaiming the necessity for it. I believe that any person in the U.S.S.R. who dared to advocate war (as is done right now in England and America) would be treated as a lunatic or a criminal.

Ella Winter

Sidney got the hook in Paris—his counter-Congress flopped

PARIS

SIDNEY HOOK and James T. Farrell came to Paris to have a "counter-Congress," official approval, and the headlines—as in New York in March. What they got were boos, hisses, ridicule and a riot.

They called their counter-Congress to the great world peace rally "The Day of Resistance to Dictatorship and War." An audience of several thousand at the afternoon session started walking out half way; at the end there were no listeners left. Orators were talking to fellow-orators, who were anxiously chattering amongst themselves.

Speakers advertised on the billboards of Paris, and in the sponsoring newspaper **Franc-Tireur**, did not turn up. They had "gone to the country," spokesmen explained; they "didn't like meetings." Among those who withdrew were Richard Wright, the French writers Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, Carlo Levi, British MP R.H.S. Crossman and scientist Julian Huxley.

VANISHING SPONSORS. Promised messages from Eleanor Roosevelt, William Green, Philip Murray, Walter Reuther (this to be read in person by brother Victor) did not materialize or were not read. Of advertised sponsors Marian Anderson and Ingrid Bergman there wasn't a whiff. (A few days later Miss Bergman announced she was going back to her husband).

Wright, Sartre and existentialist professor Merleau-Ponty sent a message, agreeing that there was suppression of liberties in the "East" but adding that America was not "the paradise of democratic liberties." They disapproved of "opposing one concept of peace against another concept of peace," which would lead to war; they would join anybody who sought peace by pacific means; they were against both the Atlantic Pact and Soviet "annexations".

The French government was interested enough to make available Sorbonne university, which they had refused all year for literary or philosophical discussions by the "wrong" kind of leftists. U.S. authorities were widely rumored to be not uninterested in the meeting, but its financing remains a mystery. Questions on that score at the U.S. consulate were turned away with blushing and embarrassed stuttering.

U.S. IS "WORSE." At the counter-Congress meetings virulent attacks were made on imperialist policies in Viet-Nam, Indonesia, Spain, Greece, Malaya and China. Speakers demanded socialism, an end to the profit system and immediate revolutionary social action. Claude Bourdet, editor of **Combat**, tall, thin, painfully earnest, spoke "as an individual"; he said it should have been called a Day of Resistance to Oppression rather than to Dictatorships, which were obviously sometimes necessary.

While speakers made the standard denunciations of "Soviet concentration camps" etc., there were astonishing and warmly-applauded condemnations of the Atlantic Pact, international capitalism, and the U.S. as "worse" than the U.S.S.R. Such attacks were not heard in the big Congress.

NOT WORTH TWO BITS. Peace Congress delegates W. E. B. Du Bois and Shirley Graham went over to the Sorbonne to see how the counter-Congress was getting along. They walked through the door indicated by the usher and found themselves on the stage. Unobserved, the two "partisans of peace" sat it out behind the speakers denouncing Russia. After half an hour they left. "We had all we could stand," Du Bois said.

If the afternoon session at the Sorbonne was a bust, the evening meeting at the Vel d'Hiv, Paris' Madison Sq. Garden, was a disaster. Some 6,000 people came to the Vel d'Hiv which holds about 40,000; the meeting was held up for an hour in the hope more passers-by would drop in. Vendors peddled "fat sausages," ham rolls, a variety of papers from **Free Liberty** to **True Free Justice**; ads of **Franc-Tireur** rained on the audience in duller moments. "At 50 francs (25c)," complained a wistful girl with leaflets about "Terror in Bulgaria," "it's too expensive."

FISSION. Brushed, shaved, pressed, dignified Dr. Karl T. Compton, head of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was a contrast to his shabby, shivering, unshaven audience.

When he sought to justify dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima, and said the U.S. must keep the bomb against a possible future aggressor, the stoppered fury of the audience broke loose. There were shouts, scuffles, popping flash bulbs, flying fists, grinding cameras. The angry crowd broke through the sergeants at arms and surged toward the platform, where speakers scurried for their overcoats. Hook and Farrell retreated to the safety of a high photographers' box. Hook attributed the riot to the "lunatic fringe."

Trying to still the tumult, four speakers shouted through five portable mikes. Then Garry Davis stood, a young Viking in leather jacket with long arm outstretched, and read his "appeal to all peoples" to adopt world citizenship.

The chairman, Franc-Tireur's M. Altman, promised the protesting Anarchists and Trotzkyists they could have the mike for two minutes each (earlier he had refused them). When the Anarchist finally spoke, he suggested that people might die for their ideas but not for President Truman..

WHEN DAY IS DONE. After this it was anti-climax. There was writer David Rousset indicting Profit Slavery (U.S.S.R. variety) and social evils; then a Force Ouvriere official; then the people had had enough, and streamed out. Pro[illegible]ed speaker Andre Breton left in disgust, unheard. Mrs. Roosevelt's record was not played. When the final resolutio[illegible]s read it was not put t[illegible]e vote. "There wasn't a quorum," a French student remarked.

Before the Day, Sidney Hook said the U.S. State Dept. had nothing to do with it and that he himself "came at great personal sacrifice; I was just invited." At the Sorbonne meeting, when Hook was introduced as "the American exponent of Marxism and one who protested U.S. refusal of visas," a Frenchman listened to his ideas for a few minutes, turned to me and asked:

" 'Oo ees 'Ook?"

At the entrance to the Sorbonne, Sidney Hook, New York University professor, talks to his supporters. LeLft to right: Hook, Michael Josselson (nobody around town knew who he is, and we don't either); Melvin J. Lasky, Berlin correspondent of the anti-communist publication, "New Leader"; and the West German delegate Borkenau, a theoretician.

A magnificent success

PARIS

NO matter how much the press lied about it and tried to play it down, the Foreign Offices of the world know what the World Congress of the Partisans of the Peace really was: a magnificent success. It brought Henry Wallace's Common Man to Paris from hundreds and thousands of miles away. They went home convinced they do not have to take war, and that peace must be fought for like all the people's liberties.

Every main speaker made concrete proposals for action, many of which are being acted on. The Manifesto issued the last day drew up a detailed program which will keep many hundreds of people busy for a long time. Lawyers will analyze the constitutional law involved in pacts and charter; publicists will issue studies, pamphlets, periodicals; commitees [illegible] remain in existence with p[illegible]grams to enlist fighters for peace all over the world.

A World Committee of Partisans for Peace was elected, with 140 members in 51 countries. Its 13-member Executive Committee includes Frederic Joliot-Curie (chairman); writers Louis Aragon, A. Fadeyev and Kuo Mo Jo; attorney O. John Rogge; scientist J. D. Bernal; former Mexican president Lazaro Cardenas; African Democratic Assembly Sec.-Gen. Gabriel d'Arboussier; Italian deputy Pietro Nenni; Eugenie Cotton, president of the Women's International Democratic Federation; and Louis Saillant, Sec.-Gen. of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Ella Winter

Donald Henderson says

'If war comes, there'll be civil war in all Europe'

By C. W. Fowler

EUROPEAN workers "simply will not fight on the side of an aggressor in an imperialist war," and are "very fearful that the U.S. government is determined to start one," according to Donald Henderson, president of the CIO Food and Tobacco Workers Union, who has just returned from a month in France.

While there Henderson was a main speaker at the World Congress for Peace, and took part in the World Federation of Trade Unions meeting in Paris.

"If war comes," he said, "the workers will resist it with all the means at their disposal." He indicated the means would be both political and economic. There would be strikes, demonstrations, slowdowns, job actions and all the other forms of protest workers use. Whatever happens, the workers are not going to submit to going through another World War.

U. S. GIFT: LAYOFFS. Henderson visited a number of industrial plants in and around Paris, speaking to mass meetings of the workers.

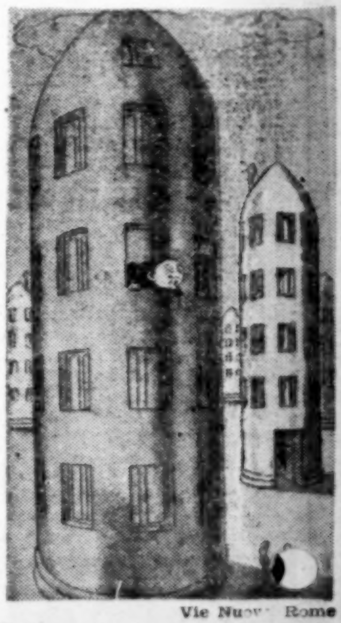
"What staggers you," he said, "is the way the Marshall Plan is throwing people out of work. I spoke to a shop stewards' meeting at the Renault plant in Paris, where I learned that 4,000 workers had only recently been laid off—due to the Marshall Plan. Renault used to make engines for the once-flourishing French aircraft industry. Now all France's aircraft engines are imported from the U.S."

Big layoffs are general, he reported, throughout the food, automotive, shoe, fur and confectionery industries not only in France but throughout western European industry.

FLOWERS NOW, NOT LATER. European trade union leaders are aware that American union people don't know these things about the Marshall plan, Henderson added. Through the World Federation of Trade Unions and direct exchange of information, they hope to make our people acquainted with the facts on ERP and what it is doing to their jobs and living standards.

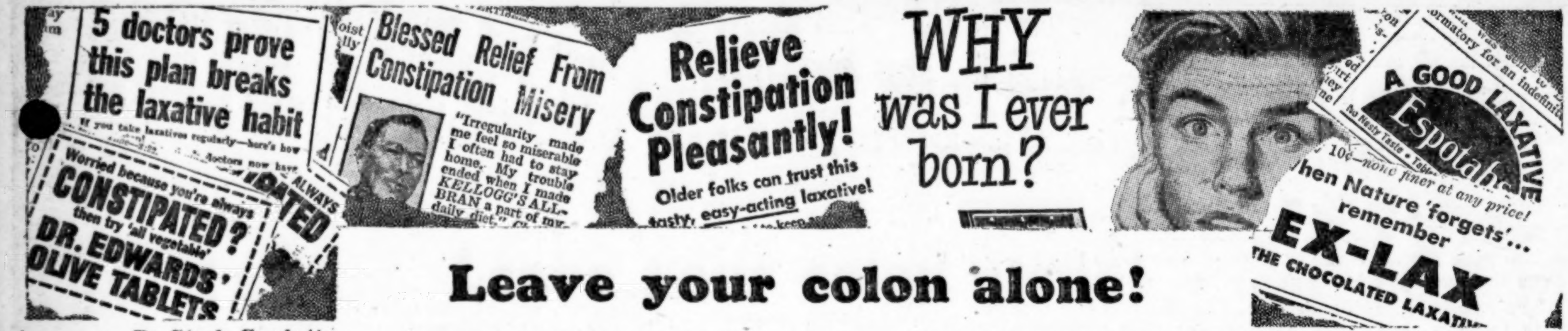
"It is impossible to believe the intensity of the feeling for peace over there unless you see it," he said. He told of a sightseeing trip the U.S. delegation made to Versailles, quite unannounced. Somehow the word went down the line that the Americans were on a certain excursion train. At every stop they were met by spontaneous greetings. Flowers were brought to the train, speeches were made, and at the Versailles station there was a junior-grade mass meeting for them.

Henderson summed up his impressions this way: "Let a war be started and there will be civil war in all Europe. The workers just won't take another one."



Vie Nuove, Rome

"So these are the houses built with American aid!"


5 doctors prove this plan breaks the laxative habit
Worried because you're always CONSTIPATED? then try 'all vegetable' DR. EDWARDS' OLIVE TABLETS
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When Nature 'forgets'... remember EX-LAX
THE CHOCOLATED LAXATIVE

Leave your colon alone!

By Sarah Crockett

AMERICANS are pouring $99,000,000 down the drain every year for laxatives and cathartics. The laxative industry, with some 500 concoctions (of which most corner drugstores stock 200), has long purged the public of more money than is spent on any other medicine.

"The desire to clean out the colon," says Dr. Harold H. Aaron, author of **Good Health and Bad Medicine**, "is an obsession with many people." Dr. Aaron wisely advises people to be guided by the natural rhythm of the intestine and not by one "dictated by ad copy writers."

Many people in perfect health eliminate once every two or three days or longer with no ill effects. Travel, change of diet, or excitement may produce changes in bowel habits, but the natural rhythm will usually return. Temporary clogging of the colon has never produced the countless symptoms attributed to it.

If constipation persists, it should be referred to a doctor. It may be remedied by a change of diet, increased physical exercise or more rest; it may call for wise medical intervention. In any case, shun laxatives.

CANDY-COATED ULCERS. The purges are older than Hippocrates, who employed them indiscriminately for such diverse ailments as deafness, dropsy, abscesses and tuberculosis.

Today the drug most widely used is phenolphthalein—found in some 150 chocolate-coated, chewing-gum-hidden, or otherwise disguised patent medicines. Phenolphthalein acts by irritating both the small and large bowel. It frequently produces colic and gas; in some cases has caused mild and severe eruptions of the skin and ulcers of the mouth; and has even caused children to collapse.

Without the harmful side reactions, but also irritating to the intestinal wall, are the many bran and "sawdust food" preparations that may be acceptable for cattle but are not suitable for humans.

OIL AND "SOFTAGE." Many have relied on the blander form of laxation produced by mineral oils. Dr. Louis Schneider of New York City's Health Department has cautioned that serious pneumonia may occur in perfectly healthy people when mineral oil goes down the wrong pipe and lodges in the lungs.

Recent studies show that habitual use of mineral oil prevents proper absorption of carotene, vitamins A and K, calcium and phosphorus. There is also evidence to indicate that mineral oil passes through the intestinal wall to lodge in regional lymph nodes, the liver, spleen and ovaries.

Many strangely-named and oddly-spelled laxatives, containing agar-agar, bassorin or psyllium seed, work by expanding in the intestine to many times their initial bulk. Ads, as slick as the "bland gliding softage" they sell, prey upon civilized man's widespread anxieties about colon cleanliness. Promise of "a sense of well being, of mental satisfaction and of aliveness and health" come with one of these products guaranteed to make you "happy about the whole thing."

That is, provided happiness and mental satisfaction mean playing middle man to an expandable vegetable product.

LEAVE IT ALONE! Psychotherapy can do a great deal in cases of chronic constipation that are functional and not organic in origin. (Also it can help toward an understanding of our American passion for plumbing and compulsive cleanliness). Emotionally, chronic constipation or spastic colitis is a reaction to resentment, just as ulcers are.

Whereas the high-powered, successful executive's resentment frequently gives rise to ulcers, the rigid, overconscientious clerk's hostilities often cause a discontented colon. Why resentment produces ulcers in one type of individual and chronic constipation in another is not clearly understood.

Early childhood experiences—particularly in toilet training—undoubtedly play an important part in creating a comfortable or irritable colon.

Now that spring is upon us, all those who look upon it as a season for cleaning and purging would do well to rid their cupboards of cathartics and laxatives and leave their colons alone.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Facts about cosmetics

IN perhaps no other field of buying is the bilking of the public as constant and widespread as in cosmetics.

Many of the cosmetics on the market are simply ordinary preparations you can buy under their own names at a drug store. And some have no value whatsoever. In one case (typical of many) a certain massage cream was quite widely sold as a remedy for removing wrinkles and freckles, for curing eczema and scalp diseases and/or for developing the bust. Actually, government chemists found, the cream consisted essentially of odorless kerosene with a little perfume, and of course had no efficacy.

The sale of "eyelash growers" would be amusing if so many women weren't deluded and defrauded by them. They don't grow eyelashes at all, but simply make them stand out more prominently—which may give a slight illusion of greater length.

HAND LOTION AT HOME. With the approach of summer, many women will buy various types of lotions to "protect" hands and face. You can easily concoct preparations at home, with a few cents' worth of ingredients, which will be as efficient (and in some cases the same formula) as the expensive preparations on the market.

Here's a simple formula for hand lotion: dissolve two teaspoons of boric acid and three teaspoons of glycerine together by heating. Let the solution cool and stir in three teaspoons of lanolin and two teaspoons of vaseline. Add a little perfume if you want, which is all that some cosmetics manufacturers do.

Most foundation creams for facial protection are basically vanishing creams which deposit a thin film on the skin. Any ordinary vanishing cream will suffice.

JUST USE YOUR ELBOW. In one case last year, the Federal Trade Commission ordered the makers of a so-called "three-purpose cream" to stop advertising that this cream nourishes the skin or improves its texture. This expensive cream was basically just a cold cream.

Actually there is no such thing as a product that nourishes the skin, health authorities say. Skin derives nourishment from circulation. Muscle oil, which some people buy, is particularly useless. All you need do is massage with cold cream, and the chief benefit of even cold cream is simply the massage. The cream also soaks into and swells the topmost layer of a skin that happens to be dry, thus seemingly smoothing out wrinkles. But, of course, this is only temporary.

H[illegible] TO BUY COLD CREAM. Any cold cream will do that no m[illegible]er what the price. Least expensive are theatrical cold creams, sold under their own brand names by large department stores for a few pennies an ounce as compared to 40 to 60 cents an ounce for some of the highly-advertised glamor brands.

Claims of dandruff removers have similarly been restrained by FTC. All these do is dissolve surplus dandruff; but they don't remedy the condition. For that, the only possible help is to keep the scalp clean and stimulate it by massage. In extreme cases, ask your doctor to recommend a skin specialist.

ADVICE ON LANOLIN. Nor is it necessary to spend high prices for lanolin products, or superfatted soaps, for dry skin. [illegible] of expensive preparations containing lanolin, buy Toilet [illegible] USP itself at any drug store. Don't spend much for [illegible] soap. In New York just last week, a cosmetics manufac[illegible] advertised superfatted soap containing lanolin at three [illegible] for $1. The same week a department store was offering 1[illegible] cakes of toilet soap, superfatted with lanolin, for 87 cents!

Books for progressives

Money, money

By Victor Perlo

TOMORROW'S MONEY, by Felix J. Frazer and Elsa Peters Morse, sponsored by the Anna T. Milburn Foundation, Hollywood. New Age Publishing Co. 279 pp. $1.50.

IT is fitting that this book should come from California, the home of so many radical schemes for improving the welfare of the people.

The main body of **Tomorrow's Money** is a historical review of the evil-doings of bankers throughout our history. It is a valuable collection of financial scandals, accounts of the robbing of the people through needless expansion of the Federal debt, of the enrichment of private interests through control of the money system. Exposure of the big business character of the Federal Reserve System, which is popularly regarded as a Government agency, is particularly valuable.

The historical section suffers from a failure to connect financial and industrial monopoly, a one-sided emphasis on banking which extends to the authors' proposals.

ALBERTA FIZZLE. The social credit program advanced cannot bring about the Utopia its authors claim for it.

In 1935 "Bible Bill" Aberhart led the Social Credit Party to power in the province of Alberta, Canada, and it has stayed in office ever since, thanks to honest government policies. But it has not issued social credit, nor has it effected the promised social security program.

And no advances can be expected in Alberta until the people choose a government going beyond the special money schemes which evade the basic problems of our economy.

The central theme of **Tomorrow's Money** is direct issuance of money by the Federal Government, rather than through the Federal Reserve System. In this way, the authors hope, people will be enabled to buy the goods that are produced.

NOT ENOUGH. Certainly issuance of money to the unemployed and the aged through social security measures is essential to make life more tolerable. But this can be financed effectively not by simple issuance of currency, which would lead ultimately to inflation, but by taxation of wealthy individuals and corporations.

It is essential for the government to take over the Federal Reserve System, as Frazer and Morse propose, but to make this really effective it is also necessary to take over the big banks, as proposed by the Progressive Party.

Planning of distribution, of production and finance, are all necessary. One-sided proposals for stimulating distribution alone will not do the job.

The millions who support or have supported social credit schemes should be allied with other people of good will in fighting for a progressive government in America. The authors of **Tomorrow's Money**, like the Progressives, are for expanded social security and public works. Like the Progressives, they expose and oppose the cold war policies instigated by big business. Certainly no sensible progressives will regard these people as enemies because their proposals for financing social advances are inadequate.

The horrors of National Health

Two weeks ago the New York World-Telegram ran a picture of a jammed British dental clinic as an example of the horrors of National Health Insurance, established in England last year.

Picture was checked by British Information Service. It was taken in 1936.

Report to Readers

Five-cent beer and the Guardian

By John T. McManus

HARD by New York's venerable St. Mark's in the Bouwerie stands a modest beerstube which has lately become the most publicized pub in America.

The pub is called Sam's Bar & Grille; and the reason for its fame is that its proprietor, one Sam Atkins, has braved the forces of inflation and the brewers' trust to lower the price of his beer from 10 cents to 5 cents.

Mr. Atkins had his troubles at first. The brewers cut his deliveries; strong-arm intermediaries tried to convince him that he was a traitor to his class. Even a union got into the fuss, demanding that he fire a new barmaid.

But Sam Atkins has triumphed against all the forces of inflation, brass-knuckles and non-feminist unionism.

His St. Mark's Place establishment teems with trade.

Five beer pumps gleam where two rusted before.

And to cap the climax—or perhaps to put a head on it—the barmaid has up and married one of Sam's new nickel-beer customers.

Mr. Atkins, flanked by his manager Sam Hock (who taps out cheery tunes on a chromatic set of whiskey bottles), surveys his new prospects grandiloquently.

"I brought back nickel beer with the spring," he says, "and it'll gush in the summer.

"When it gets warmer we'll sell 50 halves a week!"

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ALL honor, glory and success to Mr. Atkins for his valiant onslaught against inflation in the lager-beer business. All happiness to the lucky barmaid and her new husband who obviously knows a fair bargain when he samples one. And may manager Sam Hock never hit a sour note on his whiskey-bottle glockenspiel.

But now let's get away from St. Mark's in the Bouwerie and talk about some NATIONAL GUARDIAN business.

The GUARDIAN, too, did some price-cutting this month and we, too, like Sam Atkins, can report immediate rewards. Not so romantic as Mr. Atkins, of course—none of the GUARDIAN's fair maids has yet met and married up with a tall, dark and handsome $1-for-40-weeks subscriber.

We announced our price reduction in last Monday's GUARDIAN: $2 a year instead of $4, with a special offer of 40 weeks for $1.

In Tuesday morning's mail our usual subscription business was doubled. By Wednesday evening (when this column goes to press) the GUARDIAN, like Mr. Atkins, had tripled its usual business and we had scarcely begun hearing from the folks in Chicago and out in the West.

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SO THIS week we ask you to step out with us and Sam Atkins in the anti-inflation parade—flaunting both our slogans, "Five Cent Beer" and "One Buck for Honest News." The coupon below tells how you can help muster out the GUARDIAN's contingent. Also, the same coupon with five cents will get you a foaming flagon of the season's best at Sam's Bar & Grille, 79 St. Mark's Place.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers.

Please enter the following introductory subs to NATIONAL GUARDIAN

ONE 40-WEEK SUB FOR $1 ● **FOUR 10-WEEK SUBS FOR $1**

40 wks 10 wks
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Name (Please Print) Address Zone State
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NATIONAL GUARDIAN **17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.**

"One buck for honest news"

West Coast wire

An era ends for the CIO

By Gene Richards

ONE hundred thousand embattled adherents of the Los Angeles CIO Council have achieved a troubled armistice with national CIO leaders after a year of defending policy autonomy of their council and its union affiliates.

But it was a unity that (1) eliminated lock, stock and barrel the militant founding leadership of the Southern California CIO movement; (2) proscribed council officials henceforth from criticizing national CIO policies; (3) forbade elected council delegates from voting in opposition to such policies and (4) plunged ownership of the building built by John and Jane CIO into a court fight.

Changes were made, too, in the council's historic constitution and bylaws by the Philip Murray-supported victors.

POLITICS — FOR SOME. One amendment substituted oral voting for secret ballot hereafter in the election of council officers. Delegates' previous power of making political endorsements, even within community races, was limited in an amendment sold as a blow at Communists.

Elected by a better than two-to-one vote of delegates were Clarence H. Stinson of the United Auto Workers, president; Albert T. (Blackie) Lunceford of the United Rubber Workers, paid secretary-treasurer; Robert R. Clark of the United Steel Workers, vice president, and 22 other "pro-national-CIO" candidates.

They defeated longtime progressive forces led by Al Caplan of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Carl Brant of the United Electrical Workers; and Lawrence Turner of the United Furniture Workers.

Philip M. (Slim) Connelly, a founder of both the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and the Los Angeles CIO Council, which he led as secretary-treasurer for more than a decade, was not a candidate for re-election.

BRIDGES IS MAD. Storm center of the controversy that broke when the council voted a year ago to refer to affiliated unions the national CIO-PAC mandate against Henry Wallace and for the Marshall Plan, Connelly recently withdrew in a unity gesture on the eve of the election, which was arranged by the national CIO among Los Angeles disputants.

Harry Bridges

Gag rule in conduct of the convention was charged in a statement circulated by Harry Bridges' ILWU delegation, which was denied the right to record a minority report against the autonomy-restricting formula by the meeting.

The new top officers are all international representatives on the coast of national CIO unions. The defeated candidates are all rank and file officers of local unions.

Bridges called the vote "the end of an era in CIO" and asked for a rebirth of "the rank and file CIO spirit of '36."

Chicago dateline

Witch hunter trips over a broom!

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

WHEN State Senator Paul Broyles (R-Mt. Vernon) introduced his "anti-subversive" bills this winter, he also sponsored a measure to make his "Little Dies" Commission permanent and give it $75,000 for the next two years.

The Senate Appropriations Committee on Tuesday turned the bill down, 11 to 5, after giving Broyles an uncomfortable hour as a witness.

He was asked how the $15,000 given the Commission two years ago was spent. Committee members wanted to know how much money was paid to Benjamin J. Gitlow, renegade Communist, and J. B. Matthews, former Dies Committee investigator, for helping the Commission do its job.

Sen. Edward Saltiel (R-Chicago) said he was "apprehensive about these people who get religion for a price."

On Wednesday the Senate took up the appropriation request despite the committee rejection. Broyles was beaten, 36 to 10. Sen. T. Dowling Macomb, Republican, called the Broyles motion an attack on all committees.

No con-con

CON-CON died in Illinois two weeks ago. It was formally buried this week—for the next two years at least.

Gov. Adlai Stevenson, who made the need for a constitutional convention the No. 1 plank in his campaign platform last year, had seen the con-con resolution defeated in the House a fortnight ago by 6 votes. The voting was almost entirely along party lines.

With passage requiring 102 votes, Stevenson forced the issue before the House again this week. He was defeated even more soundly. Only 89 "ayes" were counted, against 54 "noes."

The Governor promptly called on House Democrats to support the Republican "gateway" plan for gradual amendment of the outmoded 1870 state charter, already approved by the Senate.

Up tolerance!

THE Chicago Federation of Labor showed real signs of life this week at an all-day Conference to Combat Intolerance, attended by more than 700 representatives of AFL unions in the city. Speakers included Mayor Kennelly, AFL President Green, Illinois Federation of Labor President Soderstrom, and Joseph Keenan, director for AFL's version of PAC and recording-secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

Chicago Federation President Lee told the conferees discrimination is indefensible on an economic as well as a moral basis. The affair was sparked by the garment workers, whose international vice-president, Charles S. Zimmerman, was the only speaker who discussed intolerance within unions. He urged locals to base their organizations on absolute religious and racial equality.

The Federation is a supporter of the FEPC bill now before the Illinois Assembly.

The phone hike

CHICAGO City Council Utilities Committee this week passed a motion urging the Council to withdraw the City Corporation Counsel's recommendation that a $26,000,000 phone rate increase be granted by the Illinois Commerce Commission.

The Corporation Counsel's report, prepared by the private accounting firm of Arthur Andersen Co., was based entirely on the phone company's records. It was submitted to the Commerce Commission without the Utilities Committee's permission. The utilities group said it believes that Chicago should seek a "substantially lower" rate of increase than that proposed in the report.

Smelts run for progress

THE Wisconsin shore of Lake Superior is one of the few places in the world where smelts can be caught. The smelt run this spring was unusually large — and Progressives cashed on on it. Some of them, living on or near the Superior shore, wrote Peoples' Progressive Party State Director Michael Essin in Milwaukee. They said if he'd tell 'em where to ship the smelts, they'd send him the check.

This week, as Essin deposited $250 to the Peoples' Progressive account, he remarked, "Some people go after red herring; we go after smelt."